This Volume is presented *by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury*

to _____

and will, in the event of the Library being broken up, be returned to the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Westminster.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

W., 10,000—20/9/98.

Croydon Public Libraries.

Central Reference Library.

Accession No. 5437 Class No. 9262

Besides the class topic, other topics treated of in this book are as follows:—

Topic No.	Pages.	Topic No.	Pages.

BROMLEY LIBRARIES
3 0128 01814 8950

ON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/rerumbritannicar0002chur

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

THE

REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY.

BY

REGINALD PECOCK, D.D.,

SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

EDITED

BY

CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D.,

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

1860.

9262

6 R 5437

6 175 8

BROMLEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES | AL L5
CLASS L 94.1
ACC. 01814 8950

[262]

Printed by
EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers,
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

PECOCK'S REPRESSOR.

v. Chapiter.

The fourth text (1 Tim. vi.) considered, where Paul declares godliness with sufficiency to be great gain; and that we should be content with food and raiment. 'Food and raiment' here mean competency, and so exclude not fixed endowment.

The iiij^e. principal processe of the Newe Testament, bi which myȝte seeme endewing of prestis to be vnleeful, is writun i^e. Thimoth. vj^e. c̃., where Poul blamed sum men "whiche deemeden wynnyng to be pite," and there he seith to Thimothie bischop thus: *A greet wynnyng is pitee with sufficience, for we brouȝten yn no thing into this world, and no dout that we mowe not bere awey eny thing; but we hauyng foodis and with what thingis we schulen be hilid, be we content or paied with these thingis. For thei that wolen be maad riche fallen in to temptacioun, and into snare of the deuel, and into manye vnprofitable desiris and noiose, which drenchen men into deeth and perdicioun. For the roote of alle yuelis is coueitise, et cætera. But thou, man of God, fle these thingis; but sue thou riȝtwisnesse, pitee, feith, charite, pacience, myldenes.* This processe lettith not the seid gouernaunce of endewing. Forwhi, if this processe schulde so streitli be vndirstonde, that a bischop schulde not haue more than mete and drinke, hous and clooth, certis thanne it muste be seid that Poul wolde no bischop haue eny stoor of bokis, neither money forto bie or lete make therwith eny bokis, which is aȝens Poulis owne meenyng, ij^e. Thimothie, iiij^e.[1] c̃. toward the eende. And also a bischop schulde not haue an hors forto on him ride, (if the bischop were oold or sike,) neither a staffe forto go by in his eelde for sijkenes. Wherfore bi "foode and couering" Poul vnderstondith al that is necessarie into good cure

[1] *iij^e.*, MS.

CHAP. V.

keping and mynystring, euen as ofte tymes in Holi Scripture[1] bi "breed" is vndirstonde al maner of foode. And if this be trewe, certis sithen the hauour and possessioun of immouable godis helpith and fortherith a bischop into the bettir bering and vsing his cure vpon hise vndirlingis, (as schal be schewid aftirward,) it folewith that vnder these ij. thingis schortli expressid of Poul here to Bischop Tymothie, "foode and couerynge," is conteyned possessioun of vnmouable godis, in the maner and mesure and vce as thei helpen the bischop forto make the better cure vpon hise vndirlingis. Also it is to be markid weel that Poul seith: *A greet wynnyng is pitee with sufficience.* Lo, how Poul allowith weel al that makith a sufficience into eny purpos or effect which muste be doon; and sithen into sum degre of good cure bering availith moche plente of vnmouable ricchessis had and receyued withoute labour of it wynnyng and geting, it folewith that it stondith weel with the proces of Poul in this present processe, that bischopis haue endewing of vnmouable possessiouns.

The perils of poverty at least as great as those of riches; as appears by the history of the Apostolic age.

Ferthermore, whanne Poul seith thus: *Thei that wolen be maad riche fallen into temptacioun, and into snare of the feend, et cætera;* it is to be vnderstonde that not oon but dyuers it is forto seche and wille be mad riche bi[2] wynnynge of tho ricchessis thorus craftis or marchaundisis or other meenys of bisynessis, and dyuers it is forto receyue ricchessis mouable or vnmouable redy whanne thei ben profrid. Certis, thous the firste maner may not be doon withoute the perels which Seint Poul spekith of here, the ij^e. maner may weel ynous be doon withoute such perels. ȝhe, perauenture more perel schal befalle[3] in ouer greet pouerte than in ouer grete ricchessis so freli profrid and receyued; but if it be in a fewe persoones indisposid forto entirmete with ricchessis, whiche ouȝte forbere for the while the prelacie, into which suche

[1] See Deut. viii. 3.; Matth. iv. 4.
[2] *mad bi*, MS. (first hand).
[3] *be falle*, MS.

ricchessis ben ȝouun, rather than appeire hem silf in receyuyng tho ricchessis, or apperre her successouris aftir hem in removing awey tho richessis; sithen not alle men ben in lijk maner thoruȝ out disposid naturali and gracioseli. Forwhi, ij^e. Tessal. iij^e. c̃. and ij^e. Cor. xj^e. c̃., mensioun is mad, that in Poulis daies, bi cause endewing was not maad to prechouris other than it wher of Poul spekith i^e. Cor. iij^e.[1] c̃., therfore prechers ȝauen hem to flaterie and to plesaunce forto the more likingli fille her wombis and her pursis so myche and so thikke, that for to putte hem awey out of the peplis fauour Seint Poul suffrid labour and peyne in this, that he laborid for his owne lijflode and for the lijflode of hise mynystris, not withstonding that he myȝte bi riȝt haue askid his lijflode and fynding of hem to whom he prechid. And therfore bi experience sufficientli take in tho daies greet pouerte and lak of stable endewing and forto stonde to deuocioun of the peple in ȝeuing and offring, (with mannys natural freelnes to suffre peyne of bodi, whanne he schal lacke hise necessarie esis,) is as perilose or more perilose in prelatis than is habundaunce of ricchessis (mouable or vnmouable) freeli profrid and withoute greet seching in the prelatis sides receyued.

Confirmation of this from the prayer of Solomon.

To which now seid sentence sowneth it what Salamon writith, Prouerb. xxx^e. c̃. toward the bigynnyng, whanne he preied to God thus: *I preied to thee twey thingis, denye thou not to me bifore that y die. Make thou fer fro me vanite and wordis of leesing; ȝeue thou not to me begrie and ricchessis; ȝeue thou oonli necessaries to mi lijflode; lest perauenture y be fillid, and be drawe to denye and seie, Who is the Lord? and lest y compellid bi nedynes stele, and forswere the name of my God.* Lo, how that, thouȝ Salamon sauȝe perel in ricchessis and perel in beggerie, ȝit he

[1] Probably we should read ix^e. See 1 Cor. ix. 3–14.

CHAP. V.

expressith the gretter perel of synne to come bi begrie than to come bi ricchessis. And if herto be cast that noon persoon, noon comounte can be endewed into his oonli sufficience and forto abide in thilk sufficience thoruȝ manye ȝeeris in successioun, but if the endewing be mad in the bigynnyng forto be ouer the sufficience as for thanne being, (as her of is miche experience had in Englond, Fraunce, and othere londis, and cause her of is this, that euer more the world decrecith in peple,) the seid sentence wole seme the trewer.

The fifth text (2 Tim. ii.) considered, where Paul tells Timothy that no soldier of God entangles himself with cares of this life. This place rather proves that the maintenance of the clergy should be so ample, that they need not be anxious about every little sum they spend.

The v^e. principal processe of the Newe Testament is writun to Thimothie Bischop, ij^e. Thimothie ij^e. c̃., where Poul seith to him thus: *Noman holding knyȝthode to God wlappith him silf with wordli nedis, that he plese to him to whom he hath preued him silf. For he that fiȝteth in a bateil schal not be crowned, but if he fiȝte lawfulli.* Certis this processe dooth not aȝens the seid gouernaunce; forwhi grete lordis han lasse nede forto wlappe hem silf in worldli nedis aboute her londis than lasse lordis han, for as miche as greet lordis mowe avorthi to haue and fynde with her costis officers vndir hem forto attende sufficientli to alle the wordly nedis of her londis, and ȝit thei mowe haue ynouȝ bisidis. In so miche that experience hath ȝouun bifore these daies, that grete lordis and ladies being worthi householders and ful grete forȝeuers of dettis to her tenauntis, ȝhe, and gretter and habundanter forȝeuers than othere, couthen[1] not rekene a summe into an hundrid schilingis; and han had her londis and householdis in best maner reulid bi othere officers weel thryuyng vndir hem; and the lordis han had therbi ful riche and preciose leisers forto haue serued God in hiȝer and deuouter weies, if thei wolden; and in lijk maner it myȝte fare with

[1] *couthe*, MS. (first hand).

bischopis and louȝer persoones of the chirche richeli endewid, ȝhe, and bi such greet riche endewing thei schulen haue lasse thouȝt and lasse kark and clayng lest her godis be lost and spilled, than thei schulden haue if thei were not endewid ouer what were to hem oonli sufficient. Forwhi thei mowe wite weel and wolen considere weel that thouȝ thei lese miche, ȝit thei schulen haue ynouȝ bisidis into her nede and into her sufficience; and therfore, thouȝ thei ouȝten not be ouer myche recheles in lesing her godis, ȝit thei mowe at sumtyme ful vertuouseli and wijsly lete sum passe into lost, lest that better attendaunce to goostli deedis be therbi lost. And perauenture this cause moued deuoute temperal lordis in the oold daies forto so richeli endewe bischopis and othere statis of the chirche; and therfore noman may argue and proue that, as bi strengthe of her riche endewing, that[1] the statis of the chirche ouȝten or schulden be lad into wors plijte than thei schulde be, if thei were porelier endewid; or if thei were not endewid with immouable godis at al. Wold God the bischop writer of this book hadde so sure knowing of his saluacioun as he hath experience vpon the trouthe of this now of him affermed sentence.

The sixth text (Matth. v.) considered, where Christ counsels us to cut off the right hand, if it offend us. This should dissuade those from riches who are naturally prone to trust in them, but not those who make a good use of them. They are instruments both of vice and virtue.

The vj^e. processe of Holi Scripture in the Newe Testament, which myȝte seeme meete aȝens the seid endewing of prelatis in the preesthode, is writun Math. v^e. c̃. thus: *If thi riȝt iȝe sclaundre thee, pulle him out and caste fro thee; for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris perische, than that al thi bodi go into helle: and if thi riȝt hond sclaundre thee, kutte him awey and caste fro thee; for it spedith to thee that oon of thi membris perische, than that al thi bodi go into helle.* Lijk processe with

[1] The repetition of *that* is needless and awkward, and seems at first sight to be a mere clerical error; yet the very same redundancy occurs in the third sentence of the following paragraph.

CHAP. V.

more ther of is write Math. xviij^e. c̃. and Mark ix^e. c̃. Certis of this proces folewith not that, if myn iȝe or myn hond sclaundre me not, that y schal caste him awey fro me. And ther fore bi this processe folewith not that tho persoones, whiche han natural disposicioun and grace forto weel vse and dispose ricchessis, (and for to not ouer miche truste vpon hem, and not ouer miche loue hem, and not ouer miche be thouȝtful and troublid aboute hem,) ouȝten forsake hem and not receyue hem, if thei be to hem profrid. And if eny man be in contrarie wise vndisposid vnscapabili, lete him abstene and forbere that he come not into prelacie endewid; and not that for his vndisposicioun he schulde prouoke, procure, and make that manye hundridis of hise successouris schulden lacke the greet help and fortheraunce into gode deedis, whiche thei myȝten haue bi riche endewing. For the philsophir feelid bettir than so, seiyng that ricchessis ben instrumentis of vertu, thouȝ in indisposid persoones bi her vndisposicioun oonli thei ben instrumentis and occasiouns of vicis.[1]

It is now proved that no doctrinal text of the New Testament forbids the temporal endowment of the clergy.

Thus miche, fro the bigynnyng of the iiij^e. chapiter hidir to, is ynouȝ forto schewe that Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament in his parti, which is of the ij^e. there seid sort, (that is to seie, which is pure doctrinal,) lettith not the endewing of preestis bi immovable possessiouns. For if it be weel answerid to these vj. now bifore going processis of doctrinal Scripture, sownyng sumwhat aȝens the seid endewing, (as it is now bifore at ful[2] to hem answerid,) certis ful

---

[1] Pecock without doubt has Aristotle in his eye. The following passage from the *Ethics*, among others more or less similar, will elucidate his allusion: "ὧν δέ ἐστι χρεία τις, ἔστι τούτοις χρῆσθαι καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς· ὁ πλοῦτος δέ ἐστι τῶν χρησίμων· ἑκάστῳ δ' ἄριστα χρῆται ὁ' ἔχων τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον ἀρετήν· καὶ πλούτῳ δὴ χρήσεται ἄριστα ὁ ἔχων τὴν περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀρετήν." *Eth. Nic.*, lib. iv. c. i.

[2] *the ful*, MS. (first hand).

esy and liȝt it schal be therbi forto answere to alle othere doctrinal textis and processis of Holi Scripture in the Newe Testament, if eny of hem be sownyng aȝens the seid endewing. CHAP. V.

vj. CHAPITER.

THAT no parti of Holi Scripture in the Newe Testament being of the iij^e. there seid soort that is seid, being historial ensaumplal, lettith the seid endewing of preestis, is now to be proued thus: If eny ensaumpling schulde lette the seid endewing, it schulde be the ensaumpling of Crist or of sum Apostle or of the multitude of Cristen men, of which it is rad, Acts ij^e. c̃. in the eende, thus: *Alle that bileeueden weren to gidere and hadden alle thingis comoun; thei seelden possessiouns*[1] *and catel, and departiden tho thingis to alle men, as it was nede to ech;* and Acts iiij^e. c̃. in the eende thus: *How manye euere weren possessouris of feeldis either of housis, thei soolden and brouȝten the pricis of tho thingis that thei selden, and leiden bifore the feet of the Apostlis; and it was departid to ech, as it was nede to ech:* or ellis it schulde be the ensaumpling of hem of which Poul spekith, Hebr. xj^e. c̃., that *thei wenten aboute in brocke skynnes and in skynnes of geet, nedi, angwischid, turmentid; to whiche the world was not worthi.* But so it is, that noon of these ensaumplingis it lettith. Wherfore noon ensaumpling in Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament it lettith. NO HISTORICAL EXAMPLE RECORDED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT FORBIDS THE ENDOWMENT OF THE CLERGY. Certain texts considered.

That the ensaumpling of Crist lettith it not, lo, y proue thus: Thouȝ alle Cristen men ben bounde forto The example of Christ considered. No text.

[1] *possessioun*, MS. (first hand). The plural occurs in Wiclif's (later) version, from which this citation is made.

CHAP. VI.

clearly shews whether the example of his poverty was left to us under counsel or under command. Consequently we must have recourse to the judgment of the reason to determine this point.

folewe summe ensaumplingis of Crist and in sum maner for this that it is writun Iohun xiij^e. c̃., *I haue ȝouun an ensaumple to ȝou, that ȝe do as y haue doon;* and for this[1] that is writun i^e. Iohun ij^e. c̃., *He that dwellith in him* (that is to seie in Crist) *he owith for to walke as he walkid;* and so of othere textis ther to alleggid in the book clepid *The iust apprising of Holi Scripture,* the first parti, the [2] chapiter: and thouȝ herwith it is writun ij^e. Cor. viij^e. c̃. that *whanne Crist was riche, he was maad for us poor, that we bi his pouerte schulden be riche:* ȝhe, and thouȝ it be writun, Luk ix^e. c̃. in the eende, that Crist was so poor, (namelich fro the hauyng of vnmovable godis,) *that he hadde not an hous into which he myȝte bowe his heed:* ȝit it is not cleer, open, and certeyn bi these textis now alleggid neither bi eny othere textis in Scripture, whether Crist ensaumplid his now seid so greet pouerte to alle Cristene or to preestis vndir comaundement or vndir counseil oonli. And if he ensamplid it vndir counseil oonli and not vnder comaundement, no man to whom it is so counseilid and profrid is bounde forto take it[3] and performe it, as ech man may soone wite. And therfore sithen no thing lettith but that Crist myȝte haue ensaumplid it vndir counseil oonli and [not] vnder comaundement, as ech man muste needis graunte, we musten haue sum other thing than is Holi Scripture forto iuge whether Crist in this now seid ensaumpling ensaumplid to us vnder counseil and profre and prouoking oonly, as he ensaumplid chastite to alle Cristen that myȝten take it, Math. xix^e. c̃.: or ellis that he ensaumplid this seid pouerte to preestis or to hem

[1] *this* is interlineated by a later (?) hand, which has also inserted *to* after *for*, just below.

[2] A space left in the MS. for the number.

[3] *it* is interlineated by a later hand.

and to othere men vndir comaundement. And thanne ferther, sithen no thing ellis out and bisidis Holi Scripture can be founde a sure iuge forto this iuge, but if it be mannys weel disposid natural resoun or ellis sum sure special reuelacioun mad fro God out and bisidis Holi Scripture of the Bible; it folewith needis, that we ouȝten not take this now seid ensaumpling of Crist as doon to vs vndir comaundement, but if cleer weel disposid natural resoun it deme to be ȝouun to us vndir comaundement. But so it is, that no cleer natural weel disposid resoun wole deeme that Crist ensaumplid the now seid greet pouerte vndir comaundement to eny persoon. Wherfore no persoon (preest ne other) is boundun for to it take and fulfille.

Reason does not prove such example to be under commandment. For if poverty be under commandment, the commandment is independent of Christ's example; otherwise every example of Christ's life, as perpetual celibacy, would be an example of commandment. But no assignable reason can be given why poverty should be commanded to all Christians.

That no cleer resoun wole deme the seid ensaumpling to be haue doon vndir comaundement, y proue thus: No cleer resoun can deeme that Crist ensamplid thilk greet pouerte vndir comaundement, but if the same cleer resoun can deeme that thilk same greet pouerte is a comaundement, thouȝ Crist hadde it not ensaumplid. Forwhi bi this that Crist dide and vsid and ensaumplid thilk pouerte, resoun can take noon evidence that ther yn Crist comaundid it; sithen thanne bi lijk skilē ech deede, which Crist dide and ensaumplid, he ensaumplid vndir comaundement, and he ther yn and therbi it comaundid; which is not trewe: for as miche as he him silf witnessith, Math. xix^{e}. c̄., that oonli vndir counseil he profrid chastite to alle men that myȝten it take; and also resoun deemeth sufficientli ynouȝ, that no thing may lette him that is God for to ensaumple vndir comaundement or vndir counseil at his fre liberte what euer good dede him lustith to ensaumple. Wherfor this is needis trewe, that resoun can not and mai not deeme that thilk seid greet pouerte was ensaumplid by Crist vndir comaundement, but if resoun can deeme that thilk same pouerte was and is a comaundement of

CHAP. VI.

God and schulde so haue be, thouȝ Crist hadde not it ensaumplid. And thanne ferther therwith thus: And so it is, that neither bi eny sifficient[1] euydence of lawe of kinde, (as soone aftir schal be proued in the next chapiter folewing,) neither bi eny sufficient euydence of Holi Scripture or of other special and peculiar sure weel tried reuelacioun, neither bi eny other wey assignable, cleer and weel disposid resoun can deme and iuge that this seid pouerte was and is and hadde be a comandement to alle Cristene or to preestis oonli, if Crist hadde not it ensaumplid. Wherfore no cleer and weel disposid resoun ouȝte deeme it to be a comaundement to alle Cristene or to preestis for this that Crist it ensaumplid.

Every argument of reason, or Scripture, or pretended revelation to prove that poverty is commanded to priests or laymen may readily enough be answered. And so the example of Christ's poverty no way hinders priests from having temporal possessions.

What euer skile of resoun can be mad that the seid pouerte is and hadde be a comaundement to preestis or lay men, thouȝ Crist had not it ensaumplid, riȝt weel may to it be mad cleer answere; what euer text of Holi Scripture therto sowne, (other than thei to whom bifore in this iij^e. partie answer is mad,) riȝt soone and esili mai to it be mad sufficient answere: and what euer extrauagaunt reuelacioun be pretendid to be had therto, riȝt soone and liȝtli may be schewid that thilk reuelacioun is not autentik and at fulle[2] tried, that he be for a sure and stable trouthe approued. And thus it may be seen, that the ensaumpling of Cristis greet pouerte in abstenyng fro temperal vnmovable possessiouns lettith not preestis forto hem take, receyue, holde, and weel demene into gode vsis.

Further, even if Christ's example of poverty had been binding on all priests, the circumstances under which it

And ferther, forto seie more in this mater of Cristis ensaumpling, thouȝ it were so that Crist ensaumplid vndir comaundement his seid pouerte to alle preestis; ȝit ech preest, which schulde folewe thilk

[1] So the MS., but perhaps only by a clerical error.

[2] *the fulle*, MS. (first hand).

ensaumpling thorug the al fulnes and likenes of it, muste se bifore whiche ben the circumstauncis vndir whiche or with which or bi which Crist so ensamplid the seid pouerte to preestis, and withoute which he wolde not so haue ensaumplid it to preestis; so that if eny of tho circumstauncis hadden not be had of Crist, he wolde not haue ensamplid it to preestis. And eer that these circumstauncis be knowe whiche thei ben, and eer than the preest (which wolde folewe ther yn Crist) knowe that tho same circumstauncis ben in him lijk myche as thei were in Crist, ellis he ougte not folewe Crist in the same euen miche pouerte neither bi comaundement neither bi counseil, more than now eny preest ougte folewe in euen likenes the crucifiyng of Crist or the fasting of Crist as comaundement or as counseil; and that bi cause he knowith not him silf to be vndir thilk state, condiciouns, and circumstauncis vnder whiche Crist was, and for whiche and bi whiche Crist wolde be so crucified. Forwhi ellis this preest toke upon him a deede, which were not morali vertuose to him; bi cause thilk deede hath not with him hise circumstauncis, whiche ben to him dewe in doom of resoun. Therfore thilk deede of the preest of in-folewing Crist in the seid pouerte and also in the seid crucifiyng were to this preest viciose; and git Petir writith in his i^e. Epistle, the ij^e. chapiter, to alle Cristen thus: *Crist suffride for us, leving to gou an ensaumple, that ge folewe the stappis of him.* And sithen it is so, that preestis in these daies, (thoug thei be prelatis, prechers, and successouris to the Apostlis and to Crist,) ben not in lijk state, condicioun, plite, and circumstauncis, neither in lijk neede in which Crist and hise Apostlis weren[1] forto forbere and forsake

CHAP. VI.

was given must be now as they were then, in order that it may be still binding on them. But the times are changed, since the days of Christ and his Apostles, so that their example of poverty is not binding on us now.

[1] *were*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VI.

vnmovable possessiouns, (as it is touchid and schewid resonabili weel bifore in this thridde partie the iiij^e. chapiter, and as more ther of is schewid in *The book of counseilis*,) therfore it is not comaundement neither counseil to eny preest in these daies forto folowe Crist in his so greet seid pouerte, neither to folewe the Apostlis in her lijk so greet pouerte: namelich as bi and for strengthe of her ensaumpling; bi cause tho circumstauncis, for which thei so ensampliden, ben not now had in us. Neuertheles, if for eny other special cause and circumstaunce now had in eny preest, (as perauenture for experience had upon his freelte forto ouer miche loue ricches,) he wole take to him sum greet pouerte, as maundement of lawe of kinde, or as counseil of lawe of kinde, it is vertuose ynouȝ to him; thouȝ it be not vertuose to an other, which is not naturali so gleymed with loue to ricchessis. And this abstenyng, which this freel man makith, is good and vertuose morali bi groundis of the lawe[1] of kinde and bi his reulis.

More discussion on the binding force of the example of Christ and his Apostles to be found in Pecock's *Just apprising of Holy Scripture*; from which it will appear that the example of his poverty applies to all priests neither by way of counsel nor of command.

Who euer wole se more how the ensaumpling of Crist and of hise Apostlis biholden preestis and alle Cristene, he mai fynde fair teching ther of in the book clepid *The iust apprising of Holi Scripture*, in ther of the firste partie, the [2] chapiter. And bi what is seid here and ther upon the ensaumpling of Crist and the ensaumpling of hise Apostlis, (for oon reule is of her alle ensaumplingis,) mai liȝtli to ech witti man be seen, that neither the ensampling of Crist him silf neither the ensaumpling of hise Apostlis (in the seid greet pouerte of abstenyng fro all immovable possessiouns) was ensaumpling bi wey of maundement forto hem ther yn folewe, neither bi wei of counseil to alle preestis: sithen not lijk circum-

[1] *of lawe*, MS. (first hand).

[2] A space left in the MS. for the number.

stauncis longing to the taking of thilk pouerte ben in alle preestis now, whiche weren thanne in hem.

Christ's refusal to be made a king supplies no example to priests or any one else not to accept temporal possessions or dignity. If Christ had consented to the people, he would have sanctioned treason, as they were the lawful subjects of the Emperor of Rome at that time.

Noman may kunnyngli allegge this, that Crist forsoke forto be chose king, whanne the peple wolde haue chose and mad him king upon hem, as that ther yn Crist ȝaue an ensaumple to preestis or to eny other persoon forto not receyue eny temperal possessiouns or eny temperal dignite. Forwhi, as mai be take out of dyuerse placis of the Newe Testament, thilk peple were (as for thilk tyme) leefulli vndir the Emperour of Rome, bi her owne graunt and couenaunt mad betwixe hem and the Emperour of Rome; and therfore iustli and riȝtli thei were sugettis to the Emperour of Rome; and he was her hiȝest king and emperour; and he made Heroud king vnder him forto regne upon the same peple of Iewis; and bisidis this, Pilat also bare an office there vndir the Emperour of Rome. And so thilk peple myȝte not iustli (as for thanne) haue chose Iesus or eny other persoon forto be her king; for thanne in that thei hadden be traitouris to the Emperour and to Heroude, and thei hadden do wrong to him aȝens doom of resoun: which doom of resoun Crist him silf allowid; for he seide, (Math. xxij^{e}. c̃., Mark xij^{e}.[1] c̃., and Luk xx^{e}. c̃.,) *ȝelde ȝe to Cesar tho thingis that ben of Cesar, and to God tho thingis that ben of God.* And so, if Crist wolde haue consentid to the peple willing forto chese him her king, he had in that consentid to her wrongful doing. And therfore al the ensaumpling which Crist schewid, as in that, was no more than this: that ech man schulde fle, that he consente not to eny wrongful eleccioun or chesing mad vpon him. And this ensaumpling is fer fro the ensaumpling that no preest schulde haue eny vnmouable possessioun.

---

[1] *xv*^{e}., MS.

vij. CHAPITER.

The example of the infant church of Jerusalem considered, which had all things common. Their example was under counsel only, and applied to the laity just as much as to the clergy. It applies not to the clergy now, unless they are in the same circumstances that they were then; as they are not.

THE ensaumpling of the pouerte chosun bi hem, of whom it is writen Acts ij^e. c̃. in the eende and Acts iiij^e. c̃. in the eende, was an ensaumpling of counseil and not of comaundement; and it was doon bi the multitude of the lay peple, as weel as of clerkis; and therfore her deede ensaumplith to lay peple now being, as weel as to clerkis. And so open it is, that if thilk ensaumpling schulde be comaundement to hem to whom it was ensaumplid, thanne comaundement were that alle lay folkis schulden[1] lyue in the same pouerte in which thei lyueden, and and no layman vndir peyne of dampnable synne schulde haue eny good in propre lordschip, and that whether thilk good were movable or vnmouable. And therfore thilk ensaumpling was vndir counseil oonli; and to al the lay peple, as weel as to clerkis; and so thilk ensaumpling gooth no thing forto weerne bi maundement the seid endewing of preestis; neither bi counceil, but if the preestis were now in lijk caas and condicioun and alle circumstancis, in whiche thei at thilk tyme and in thilk place weren.[2]

To prove this more distinctly, it is to be observed that the first Christians of Jerusalem lived in poverty either by God's command or by their own choice.

For the more cleering that the ensampling of thilk Cristen multitude in the tyme of the Apostlis at Ierusalem, of which multitude it is spokun bifore in the bigynnyng of the vj^e. chapiter, makith no boond or comaundement that preestis or clerkis of the newe lawe lyue withoute endewing of vnmovable possessiouns, y procede thus: Thilk seid Cristen multitude lyuede thanne so in her pouerte as bi comaundement

---

[1] *schulde*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *wer*, MS. (first hand) apparently.

of Goddis lawe therto hem comaunding and binding, or ellis thei lyueden thanne so in her pouerte bi her fre wil forto so lyue or not so lyue.

If thou seie that thei lyueden so, for that Goddis lawe therto hem bonde bi comaundement, and ȝit thei weren[1] lay persoones; thanne, sithen oon and the same was and is the lawe of God to hem and alle othere lay men and wommen, it folewith that alle othere lay men of Corinthe, of Philippis, of Thessalonie, and of ech citee and cuntre, whom Poul had conuertid, were bounden aftir her conuersioun forto lyue in lijk pouerte, as weel as the seid Cristen multitude in Ierusalem lyued. Which openli is vntrewe. Forwhi Poul suffride alle hem whiche he conuertid forto haue alle her godis aftir her conuersioun, whiche thei hadden bifore her conuersioun; and he askid of hem, that thei schulden of her ricchessis and of her habundaunce in godis sende sum almes to poor men in Ierusalem, as it is open ofte in hise epistlis. Wherfore vntrewe it is, that the seid Cristen multitude in Ierusalem lyueden in her seid pouerte bi comaundement of Goddis lawe.

If they lived in poverty by command of the Divine law, the Christians of other places must have been equally bound so to live, as it is plain that they were not, from the Epistles of St. Paul.

And aȝenward, if thou wolde seie that thei so lyueden bi fre wil forto so lyue or not so lyue without comaundement of Goddis lawe; thanne folewith ther of, that to the same or lijk maner of lyuyng noon othere Cristen men weren thanne or ben now bounde; no more than thei weren thanne to thilk poor maner of lyuyng bounde. And so the seid ensaumpling of thilk Cristen multitude in Ierusalem bindith no man.

But if they lived so by free choice only, then no Christians now are any more bound so to live, than they were then.

Also thilk multitude weren lay persoones. Wherfore if her gouernaunce in lyuyng poorli schulde binde bi ensaumpling, it schulde binde lay men and lay

Also they were laymen, so that their example would bind laymen, if it bound at all; which has

[1] *were*, MS. (first hand), and so below, p. 318. l. 1.

CHAP. VII.

been proved to be false.

Moreover the persecutions at Jerusalem, and consequent dispersions of the Christians, forbade them to have any store of wealth or immovable possessions; and it would have been folly in them to have attempted it. But it follows not that is folly now in peaceful times so to do. So that their example binds no man at all, and counsels no man who lives not in the same state of persecution as they did.

wommen, as thei weren. Which is now bifore proued to be untrewe.

Also anoon aftir that thilk seid Cristen multitude biganne in Ierusalem, so greet persecucioun was maad vpon hem and upon the dekenes and the Apostilis, that alle the Cristen persoones whiche weren in Ierusalem fledden out of Ierusalem, and weren disperclid abrode into othere dyuerse coostis and cuntrees, excepte oonli the Apostilis; as herof open storie is had, Acts viij^{e}. c̃. in the bigynnyng. And sithen this or such othere lijk persecucioun thilk multitude awaitid and abode aftir forto to hem and upon hem come, and lijk troubelose tyme was in Ierusalem al the while Peter and Poul lyueden; it muste nedis ligge in open doom of resoun that folie hadde be to al thilk Cristen multitude, (thoruȝ al such tyme lyuyng in Ierusalem,) forto haue storid and tresourid to hem eny grete possessiouns to be holde of hem in lordschip, and to be take to othere into ferme, and forto receyue ther of rent; bisidis the oonli housis and gardeyns, whiche weren necessarie for hem silf and her meyne forto in hem dwelle bi daies and nyȝtis. And therfore, thouȝ it hadde be folie to hem forto so kepe with hem gretter possessiouns than tho now seid, and that for the circumstaunce of thilk thanne being troubelose and perilose tyme; ȝit ther of folewith not bi ensaumpling[1] therof, that it schulde be folie or that it was folie to othere Cristen multitudis, (dwelling in othere cuntrees out of so troubelose persecuciouns,) forto holde gretter possessiouns than tho in which thei in her owne persoones with her children and necessarie meyne dwellen or dwelliden. And so the ensaumpling of the seide Cristen multitude in Ierusalem bindith noon other Cristen into lijk maner of poor lyuyng; neither

[1] *bi eny ensaumpling*, MS. (first hand).

counseilith eny other Cristen into lijk maner of lyuyng, whiche othere Cristen be not in lijk circumstaunce of perilose persecucioun, in which the seid Cristen multitude in Ierusalem thanne in the tyme of Apostlis weren.

The persons named in Hebr. xi. were laymen and regulars, like the Rechabites: their example not binding even on the Jewish laity, as is evident from Leviticus, much less on Christian priests.

Ferthermore, tho persoones of whiche Poul spekith, Hebr. xj°. c̃., (and of which the processe is alleggid bifore in the vj°. chapiter of this present iij°. partie,) were religiose men, forsaking miche of worldlihode and of fleischlihode[1]; as weren[2] the sones of Ionadab the sone of Recab, whiche "dranken no wijn, neithir "bildiden housis, neither sewen sedis, neither plaun- "tiden vynes, neither hadden vynes, but dwelliden in "tabernacles thoruȝ alle her daies;"[3] whom and whos conuersacion God comendith, Ieremye xxxv°. c̃., where he seith to hem thus: *For that ȝe obeieden to the comaundement of Ionadab ȝoure fader, and kepten alle hise comaundementis, and diden alle thingis whiche he comaundid to ȝou, a man of the generacioun of Ionadab sone of Recab schal not faile stonding in my siȝt in alle daies.* And sithen these men weren Iewis in the tyme of the old lawe, and weren lay men and not preestis neither dekenys of the lawe, it is open that her ensaumpling was no comaundement. Forwhi, if it hadde be comaundement, it schulde haue be comaundement to lay persoones, as thei hem silf were; and thanne it wolde folewe, that it hadde not be leeful eny Iew forto haue had eny vnmouable possessioun, which is pleinli aȝens Goddis owne allowaunce thoruȝ the v. bokis of Moyses, and in the book of Iosue in manye chapitris. And therfore needis the ensaumpling of thilk folk in al her abstinence, as weel fro myche fleischlihode as weel as fro myche

---

[1] *fleischli hode*, MS. (without hyphen, but with one a little below).

[2] *were*, MS. (first hand).

[3] See Jerem. xxxv. 6, 7.

CHAP. VII.

worldlihode, was oonli vndir counseil; and ȝit to alle tho oonli whiche were nedid, or ellis weel disposid forto lyue in thilk maner. And so thilk ensaumpling of tho persoones weerneth not the endewing of preestis in these daies doon and had bi vnmouable godis. And here y make an eende of Scripture storial ensaumpling, which is the iij^e. soort of Scripture in the particioun of Scripture bifore sett in the iiij^e. chapiter.

The endowing of the clergy not forbidden by human law, but on the contrary fully sanctioned thereby.

That mannys lawe forbedith not and weerneth not the seid endewing nedith not to proue; for open it is ynouȝ to ech leerned man, that mannys lawe graunt-ith and meynteneth suche endewingis at fulle. And therfore no more of this membre for to sette it in this book.

The writings of the Fathers are discordant in this matter, and of no greater authority than in so far as they agree with the laws of God, or man, or reason.

Writingis of Doctouris in greet plente and noumbre myȝten be brouȝt into witnessing of this present purpos, and greet multitude of her writingis myȝten be brouȝte sownyng into the contrarie[1]; but for as miche as hér feelingis and her writingis neither binden neither vnbinden in eny mater more or ferther or other wise than thei taken[2] out of lawe of kinde or of Holi Scripture or of mannis lawe, neither to hem it is to trowe ferther or more than thei kunne hem grounde in eny of these now spoken groundis or fundamentis, (as is proued in the book clepid *Iust apprising of Doctouris*;) therfore forto bringe forth here the writingis of Doctouris for this present purpos or aȝens it, y forbere. Ech of hem seide and wroot, as he trowid for the tyme to be trewe; thouȝ ful ofte thei seemen among hem to discorde, and ful ofte redili thei discorden. Thus miche, fro the bigynnyng of the iiij^e. chapiter in this present iij^e. partie hidir to, is ynouȝ for proof of the firste principal conclu-

---

[1] *into contrarie*, MS. (first hand).

[2] Probably we should read *ben taken*.

sioun in his ij^e. partie, that Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament lettith not the iij^e. principal gouernaunce rehercid bifore in the firste chapiter of this present iij^e. partie. CHAP. VII

viij. CHAPITER.

THE ij^e. principal conclusioun is this: Doom of cleerli in kinde disposid resoun werneth not and lettith not the seid thridde principal gouernaunce sett in the bigynnyng of the firste chapiter of this present iij^e. partie. That this conclusion is trewe y proue thus: If eny such now seid doom of resoun schulde weerne and lette the seid iij^e. principal gouernaunce, thilk doom of resoun schulde be oon of these domes now suyngli to be rehercid. But so it is, that noon of hem so weerneth and lettith; but ech of hem is as semyng colour oonli and not a very prouyng doom, as in processe suyng schal be schewid. Wherfore doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde weerneth not and lettith not the seid iij^e. principal gouernaunce. THE SECOND PRINCIPAL CONCLUSION. Reason does not forbid the endowment of the clergy with temporal possessions. The only plausible arguments from reason against it shall be now stated and discussed.

The ij^e. premisse of this argument schal be proued bi long processe thus. The firste semyng colour in doom of resoun is this: Aftir the sentence of Crist, (Math. vij^e. c̃. and Luk vj^e. c̃.,) *Such is the tre, which is the fruyt of the same tree;*[1] so that bi the fruyt of the tree the same tree is knowun, whether he be good or bad. But so it is, that the fruyt of the chirchis riche endewing is synne of pride, of glotenye, of symonye, and so forth of manye othere. Wherfore the tree of hem is nauȝt, which is the seid riche endewing. The first argument against the second conclusion. Simony, pride, and other vices as naturally spring from the wealthy endowments of the church, as bad fruit from a bad tree. Consequently all such wealthy endowments are vicious.

The ij^e. semyng [colour] is this: If riche endewing hadde be profitable to the clergie and to al the hool chirche of God, Crist him silf bi his owne persoon The second argument. If such endowments had been profitable either to the

[1] This is not an exact quotation. See Matth. vii. 20; Luke vi. 44.

CHAP. VIII.

whole church or to the clergy, Christ would have sanctioned them by example and precept; which he has not done. Consequently they are not profitable.

hadde endewid richeli the clergie of the chirche in hise daies, and hadde bede that aftir his passing out of this lijf men schulden make suche endewingis. But Christ not so endewid his chirche in hise daies, neither bede the clergie aftir hise daies in this lijf forto be richeli endewid. Forwhi therof is no mensioun in al the Newe Testament. Wherfore such riche endewing of the clergie is not profitable to the clergie, neither to the other partie of the chirche.

The several parts of this argument proved. The first premiss alone requires any confirmation, which it receives from the consideration of Christ's exceeding love to the church.

The first premisse of this argument muste needis be grauntid, as it wolde seeme. Forwhi[1] Crist loued his chirche and the clergie therof more than eny creature of this world can loue the chirche and the clergie; and the proof of loue is execucioun of werk and of deede; it seemeth folewe, that sithen othere persoones for loue which thei hadden to the clergie endewiden the clergie, miche rather Crist for loue wolde haue endewid the clergie, or wolde haue mad special ordinaunce therfore bi deede, or at the leest bi word, if he hadde knowe that such riche endewing hadde be to his clergie necessarie or profitable. And so the firste premysse of this ij^{e}. argument semeth to be trewe. The ij^{e}. premysse of the argument is also openli trewe. Wherfore the conclusioun concludid bi tho ij. premyssis in the same argument is also trewe.

The third argument. Church-writers testify to the fact that since the church became richer, it became more corrupt.

The iij^{e}. is this: Seint Ierom in writing the lijf of Malk the monk seith, that *sithen the chirche wexid in dignitees, he decrecid in vertues.*[2] And an other cronicler seith in sentence thus: *Eer the clergie of the*

---

[1] Perhaps *sithen* should be inserted.

[2] "Scribere disposui . . . . . ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram ætatem, id est, ab apostolis usque ad nostri temporis fæcem, quomodo et per quos Christi ecclesia nata sit et adulta, persecutionibus creverit, et martyriis coronata sit; et postquam ad Christianos principes venerit, potentia quidem et divitiis major sed virtutibus minor facta sit." S. Hieron. *Vit. Malch. Mon.* (Op. tom. ii. p. 41. Ed. Vallars.)

chirche was endewid with vnmouable possessiouns the clerkis weren holi and deuoute and goostli, and bi ensaumpling of so holi conuersacioun turneden miche of the world into trewe feith and vertuose conuersacioun; and thanne also the clerkis weren redi forto putte her lijfis for witnessing of trouthe and for the goostli helthe of her neiȝboris. And aȝenward aftir in tyme that the clergie of the chirche was endewid with vnmovable godis, the clergie decrecid in holi lyuyng and in alle necessarie gouernauncis to the helthe of the chirche, which bi fore the seid endewing thei hadden; and vicis grewen into the clergie miche thickir than bifore, as pride, ambicioun, veir glorie, glotenie, leccherie, coueitise, and speciali symonie; and suche othere.[1] Wherfore it seemeth that thilk endewing was yuel doon.

The fourth argument. When Constantine had largely endowed the church of Rome with his donation, the voice of an angel exclaimed that poison was infused that day into the church of God.

The iiij^{e}. is this: It is fablid to be trewe, that whanne greet Constantyne the Emperour was baptisid of Siluester Pope, and hadde endewid Siluester Pope with greet plente of londis of the empire, a voice of an aungel was herd in the eir seiyng thus: "In this "dai venom is hildid into the chirche of God."[2]

[1] The following passage of Nicolaus de Clamengiis (written about A.D. 1414) agrees substantially with this extract, yet it can hardly be the place intended to be quoted:— "Nemo est, ut opinor, qui non satis audierit et mente teneat, quantum Christi ecclesiæ ministri, viri utique probata virtute clarissimi omnique tempore laude merito celebrandi, terrenam opulentiam contempserint. . . . Ubi vero, ut fere assolet, paululum ex divitiis rerumque secundarum affluentia luxus et insolentia in ecclesiam subiere, tepescere sensim cœpit religio, virtus hebescere, solvi disciplina. . . . Sed ut pompis et luxui res subesset, avaritia crebrescere," &c. *De corrupt. Eccl. stat.* in Brown. *Fasc. Append.* pp. 555, 556. He goes on to enlarge on the "simoniaca pravitas" a little afterwards, see p. 559.

[2] "Anno III^{c}.XV. Constantinus baptizatur a Sancto Silvestro, et tunc ditavit ecclesiam Romanam libertatibus, prædiis, et possessionibus, et dedit sedem suam imperialem Sancto Petro et suis successoribus. Et illo tempore Diabolus in aere volando clamavit, *Hodie venenum ecclesiis Dei infusum est.*" Sprot. *Chron.* p. 43. (Ed. Hearne.) "Nar-

CHAP. VIII.

Wherfore the seid endewing bi immovable godis to the clergie is vnvertuose and yuel.

The fifth argument. It is not seemly that bishops and abbots, who should be patterns of mercy, should hold courts and pass sentence of death. Consequently all endowments, to which such powers belong, are vicious.

The v^e. semyng skile is this: It is not semeli, honeste, conuenient, and according, that bischopis and abbotis (whiche schulden be grete sterers to the lay partie into deedis of pitee, and schulde be bridelis or refreynyng meenys to the lay parti fro deedis of cruelte and of vnpitee, and that bi deede in ensaumpling and bi word in preching, counceiling, and exorting) schulden do and vse deedis strecching and disposing and abling into the grettist vnpitee and grettist cruelnes that mai be; but so doon summe bischopis and abbotis bi sum of her temperal vnmouable endewing. Forwhi bi summe of her endewingis summe bischopis and abbotis han and holden courtis, in whiche iugementis ben ȝouun in her name, auctorite, and power into hangement and into deeth. And forto do, ȝeue, or assigne thilk deeth vsuali and customabili is oon of the grettist dedis of vnpitee and cruelnes that is, and disposith also into gretter vnpitee and cruelnes, and lettith a man forto haue and kepe with him pitee and mercifulnes. Wherfore at the leest, if not al riche vnmouable endewing, ȝit thilk maner of endewing is not to be mad to bischopis and abbotis.

It is no answer to this argument to say that the officers of the bishop exercise these powers for him. *Qui facit per alium facit per se.*

If eny man wole be aboute forto excuse the bischop or abbot fro the inconuenience which this argument is aboute forto bringe into him, and that bi this that he not iugith into deeth, but an other man

---

rant chronica quod in dotatione ecclesiæ, vox audita est in aere angelica tunc temporis, sic dicentis, *Hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei.*" Wicl. *Dial.* lib. iv. c. 18. "The angel said full sothe, when the church was dowed, that this day is venym shed into the church." Id. *Of clerks possess.*, MS. cited in Lewis' *Life of Wicl.* p. 122. See also *The vision of Piers Plowman*, v. 10,659, sqq. vol. 2. p. 325. (Wright's Ed.), where it is said, that—

"An aungel men herden
An heigh at Rome crye,
Dos ecclesiæ this day
Hath ydronke venym."

vndir him and in his absence; certis this excuse is no[1] sufficient excuse. Forwhi what euer is doon in an othir mannis name, power, stide, and auctorite, (him it witing and not weerning) is doon of him; and he therof is the doer, as into this point, that he therbi be iust or vniust, riȝtful or vnriȝtful, preisable or dispreisable, doing honestli or doing vnhonestli. And therfore if iugementis of deeth be doon in the seid courtis in name and auctorite of the bischop or abbot, al is oon (into the now rehercid effectis) as thouȝ tho bischopis or abbotis diden it in her owne persoones. For ellis Pilat hadde be excusable of Cristis deeth, bi cause he lefte him to the hondis of othere men doing amys in his name. Also ellis it schulde be seid that the king iugith no man into deeth, neither sleeth eny man, neither executith iugement of deeth; bi cause he so euermore dooth bi hise officers doing in his name: which is fals and vntrewe. For no iugement of deeth may come iustli saue fro him and bi him, for he is the mynystre of God ordeyned therto bi God, as Poul seith, Rom. xiij°. c̃. And therfore this afore sett answere is not worth.

THE FIRST ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. Sins do not spring from riches, as fruit does from a tree. Riches are only the occasions by which sins come, which spring from the culpable will of man.

For answere and assoiling to these semyng skilis and colouris, and first for answere to the first of hem y graunte weel that "such is the tree which is the "fruyt of the tree;" that is to seie, if the fruyt of a tree be badde, the tree is badde; and if the fruyt of a tree is good, the tree is good. Forwhi the tree is not oonli an occasioun of the fruyt, but he is the cause[2] of his fruyt making and wirching into the fruyt that it be brouȝt forth. But certis so is it not bitwixe ricchessis and the synnes whiche comen fro out and bi tho ricchessis. For tho ricchessis ben not causis of tho synnes, but ben oonli occasiouns of tho synnes; and that oonli to the freel and culpable wil

[1] *not*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *is cause*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VIII.

of men, which is the verri cause wirching tho synnes. And therfore, bitwixe the hauyng, bi which a tree hath him silf anentis his fruyt, and the hauyng, bi which ricches hath him silf anentis the synnes comyng fro, out, and bi him,[1] is a greet dyuersite. Certis, if the synnes comyng forth fro and bi ricches weren causid of the ricches, and the ricches were cause of tho synnes and made tho synnes, as the tree makith the fruyt, the now first mad skile and argument schulde procede weel, and schulde proue sufficientli his entent. But sithen it is so, that ricchessis ben not causis of the vicis whiche comen fro and bi hem, but the freel wil of the man which vsith tho ricchessis is the making cause of tho synnes, and the ricches is not more than an occasioun of hem oonli, therfore the firste argument and skile is not worth. What difference is bitwixe a cause of a thing and an occasioun of the same thing schal be tauȝt aftir in the iiij^{e}. parti of this present book the iij^{e}. chapiter, where more is seid perteynyng to this present answere.

If riches were the cause of sin, because sin comes by them, they would also be the cause of good, because good comes by them. But contrary effects can only proceed from a free agent.

That ricches is not cause of eny synne mai be proued thus: Thou canst not seie whi and wherfore ricches schulde be cause of synne, saue for that fro, out, and bi ricches synne cometh. Weel[2] thanne, y therto seie aȝen[3] thus: Fro, out, and bi ricches comen ful manye and ful grete vertuose deedis, as ful grete and huge almesful and piteful deedis, summe perpetuel, summe for a tyme to dure; wherfore thou ouȝtist graunte that ricches is cause of vertu and of good, as it is cause of synne and of yuel. And so ricches schulde in lijk and euen maner be[4] cause of ij. contrarie effectis, which is not to be grauntid,

---

[1] *bihim*, MS.

[2] *Weel* is added (by a later hand?) in the margin.

[3] *aȝens*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *bi*, MS.

saue of a causer bi liberte and fredom, as is free wil; and such is not ricches. Wherfore he is not cause of synne, but an occasioun of synne oonli. CHAP. VIII.

And thanne ferther: If this were to be holde trewe, that for this that ricches is occasioun of al the synne which out, fro, and bi him cometh, ricches were badde and ouȝte not be had; but that the hauying of it were viciose and vnleeful, and that for this that yuel cometh ther fro and ther bi:—certis thanne for lijk skile, sithen fro and bi the greet ricches in which the aungel Lucifer was sett and putt, came his synne and the synne of manie othere aungelis and her perpetuel dampnacioun, it wolde folewe that thilk riching of the aungel was vicioseli doon of God; and so God ther yn was viciose. And sithen this folewith not, as ech man muste needis graunte, it folewith that ech man muste also lijk weel graunte, that thouȝ out and fro and bi temperal ricches (as out, fro, and bi an occasioun oonli) cometh myche synne and other yuel, therof folewith not neithir is concludid and proued the hauying of the same ricches to be yuel.

If riches ought not to be had, merely because sin comes by them, Lucifer ought not to have been endowed with riches by God.

Also thus: Other wise cometh not yuel and good out, fro, and bi ricchessis which preestis and other men holden and vsen, than as out, fro, and bi her tungis comen forth bothe yuel spechis and gode spechis, preisingis to God and dispreisingis to God, profitable teching to the vnkunnyng and vnprofitable speche to the vnkunnyng, and so forth of manye miche necessarie deedis doable bi mennys tungis and of manye ful wickid and ful miche noiose deedis comyng forth bi mennys tungis. Forwhi tungis be not but the instrumentis of the fre wil, bi and with which the free wil of man wirchith sumwhile good sumwhile yuel; and so richessis ben not but instrumentis of and to the fre[1] wil, bi which the free wil of the vsers

Good and evil proceed from men's riches just as they do from their tongues; both being only the instruments of their free will: consequently the riches of priests and the tongues of priests are the instruments of much good and of much evil.

[1] *to fre*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VIII.

wirchith in sumtyme good and in sumtyme yuel. And so bothe the tungis of preestis and ricchessis of preestis ben instrumentis and occasiouns of ful miche good and of ful miche yuel.

Yet neither their riches nor their tongues are to be destroyed; but the frailty of their will is to be reformed.

What schal therfore be doon to her tungis? Schulen thei be kutt of, for that thei ben founde occasions of yuel? Certis, nay; for thanne bi thilk kutting of schulde also ther with be kutt of alle the godis, whiche bi tho tungis mowe also be doon and had. Wherfore, bi lijk resoun and skile, neither ben ricchessis to be kutt awey fro preestis, for that of the ricchessis cometh yuel; sithen in thilk kutting awey schulden be kutt awey alle the goodis, whiche schulden come and whiche mowen come bi vce of the same ricchessis. What thanne is to be doon anentis the vicis of the tunge? Certis the freelnes of the wil is to be kutt awei and to be leid aside with greet bateil, greet scole, and greet craft; and the tungis ben to be lete stonde stille. And if this be trewe, certis so bi lijk forme and for lijk skile anentis the vicis comyng forth among preestis bi her ricchessis, the freel wil is to be curid and to be leid aside, and the ricchessis ben to be holden[1]; namelich for, thouȝ oon of hem vse tho ricchessis vicioseli, summe successouris to him schulen vse hem vertuoseli. And God forbede that the vice of this preest now lyuyng schulde hindre the vertues of gode men after him in tyme comyng!

Confirmation from St. Augustine.

To this same sentence ful weel accordith Seint Austyn in a long proces so cleerli, so sweeteli, and so resonabili, that noman may berke or bite therazens; which proces is writun in the iij°. parti of hise sermouns, the xxxiij°. sermoun, and is this in wordis now folewing. *Scripture preisith him which myȝte haue trespacid and not trespacid, which "wente not after*

[1] *holde*, MS. (first hand).

"gold," Ecclesiastici xxxj°. c̃. The gold schulde go aftir thee, not thou aftir the gold. Sotheli no thing that is mad of God is yuel. Be not thou yuel, for forsothe the gold is good. Lo, y proue thus: Lete me putte gold bitwixe a good man and an yuel man. Lete the yuel man take it; anoon poor and louȝe men ben oppressid, iugis ben corruptid, lawis ben peruertid, gouernauncis and policies ben disturblid. But whi is this? What is the verri cause of this? Certis, for that an yuel man toke the gold. Lete a good man take the gold; anoon poor men ben fed, nakid men ben clothid, oppressid men ben delyuered, prisoneris ben out bouȝt. Lo hou grete godis comen of the gold which a good man takith; and how grete yuelis of the gold[1] *which an yuel man takith. Wherto therfore ȝe at sumwhilis brouȝt into wraththe seien, "O wolde "God thilk gold were not had"? Be thou not yuel; loue thou not the gold. If thou art yuel, thou goost aftir the gold; if thou art good, the goold goith aftir thee. What is this, that the gold goith after thee? Certis, thou ledist and art not led; for thou hast the possessioun and art not had in possessioun.*[2] Thus seith Austin there. And ferthermore sumwhat aftir there Austyn seith thus: *No thingis maken and*

[1] *of gold*, MS. (first hand).

[2] "Ipsum laudavit Scriptura, *Qui potuit transgredi, et non est transgressus; qui post aurum non abiit.* (Eccli. xxxi. 8). Post te debet ire aurum, non tu post aurum. Nam bonum est aurum. Non enim aliquid mali creavit Deus. Tu noli esse malus; et bonum est aurum. Ecce aurum pono inter bonum hominem et malum. Tollat malus; inopes opprimuntur, judices corrumpuntur, leges pervertuntur, res humanæ perturbantur. Quare hoc? Quia aurum tulit malus. Tollat bonus; pauperes pascuntur, nudi vestiuntur, oppressi liberantur, captivi redimuntur. Quanta bona de auro, quod habet bonus! quanta mala de auro, quod habet malus! Ut quid dicitis aliquando stomachati, *O si non esset ipsum aurum?* Tu noli amare aurum. Si malus es, is post aurum: si bonus es, it post te. Quid est, it post te? Tu ducis, non duceris; quia possides, non possideris." S. August. *Serm.* cccxi. c. 9. (Op. tom. v. pp. 873, 874. Ed. Benedict. Antv. 1700).

CHAP. VIII.

ben causis of gode maners and of gode vertues, saue gode loues. Lete not gold be take awey fro mennys hauyng; but lete the gold abide and be had, that thou proue mennys hauyng. Whi? Lete mennys tungis be kutt awey, for that bi hem summen blasphemen God; and where schulen we thanne haue preisers of God? What dooth a tunge, he that singith weel or spekith weel knowith weel; and a ful good instrument he is. ȝeue thou a good wil to the good tunge, and thanne gode thingis ben spokun; men being in discord ben brouȝt into accord, men discoumfortid ben coumfortid, leccherose men ben chid and blamed, wrathful men ben refreyned, God is preisid, Crist is commendid, the wil is heet and inflamyd into loue, but into godli loue not into manli loue, spiritual loue not fleischli loue. These goodis dooth the tunge, but whi and bi what wirching cause? For good is the wil which vsith the tunge. ȝeue thou an yuel man to the tunge, and thanne schulen be blasphemers, chiders, chalengers, and [informers].[1] *Alle these yuelis comen fro the tunge, for that the yuel man vsith the tunge. Be not therfore takun awey thingis fro thingis, but be at and be sett to good vce to thingis.*[2] Thus seith Austyn there.

---

[1] A space left vacant in the MS.

[2] "Non faciunt bonos mores, nisi boni amores. Tollatur aurum de rebus humanis; immo adsit aurum, ut probet res humanas. Præcidatur lingua humana propter Dei blasphematores, et unde erunt Dei laudatores? Quid tibi fecit lingua? Sit qui bene cantet, et bonum est organum. Da mentem bonam ad linguam: bona dicuntur, discordes concordantur, lugentes consolantur, luxuriosi corripiuntur, iracundi refrænantur, Deus laudatur, Christus commendatur, mens ad amorem inflammatur; sed divinum, non humanum; spiritalem, non carnalem. Hæc bona facit lingua. Quare? Quia bona est mens quæ utitur lingua. Da malum hominem ad linguam: erunt blasphematores, litigatores, calumniatores, delatores. Omnia mala de lingua, quia malus est, qui utitur lingua. Non tollantur res de rebus humanis: sint res et adsit usus rerum bonarum." S. August. u.s. c. 11.

Chap. VIII.

If bishops were learned and good men, no evil would arise from their wealth: but now children, vicious men of court, and ignorant men of high birth are often promoted.

Lete oonli good men and weel proued men in vertues be takun in to preesthode and into prelacie, wherynne ben riche possessiouns; and without dout miche more good schal come bi the hauyng of tho riche possessiouns, than schulde come if thei were not had. But alle the cause, whi yuel cometh fro and bi tho riche possessiouns had in prelacie, is for that vertuose men and weel proued men in leernyng and in lyuyng ben not chosun and takun into prelacies; but sumwhile children, sumwhile men wantounli brouȝt up in court, sumwhile vnleerned men for her greet blood and her hiȝe birthe; ȝhe, into the dampnacioun of hem whiche so chesen and takun,[1] as it is ful miche to drede. Lete therfore this that is verry cause of the yuel be take awey, and lete it abie which is gilti: lete not it be take awey, which profrith him silf redi into good and of which schal come good, whanne it schal come into gode mennys hondis: lete not it abie which trespacith not. And thanne is[2] doon, what ouȝte here ynne be doon; and ellis it is doon, which ouȝte not be doon. And thus myche is ynouȝ for answere to the i^e^. semyng skile.

ix. Chapiter.

The second argument of the Lollards answered. If Christ's silence were an argument against the endowment of the clergy, it would be an argument against the appointment of deacons, which

For answere to the ij^e^. semyng skile, the first premysse is to be denied, which is this: "If riche endewing had be profitable to the clergie and to al "the hool chirche of God, Crist him silf bi his owne "persoon hadde endewid richeli the clergie of the "chirche in hise daies," *et cætera*. Forwhi if this premysse now denyed were trewe, certis, bi lijk skile

[1] Probably a clerical error for *taken*.

[2] The six following words are added in the margin by a later hand.

CHAP. IX.

was made by the Apostles and the people.

Crist in his owne persoon hadde ordeyned dekenes to be in his clergie; sithen it was profitable dekenes to be in the clergie of his chirche, as it is open, Acts vj^e. c̃. at the bigynnyng. And ȝit Crist bi him silf not so ordeyned, but the Apostlis and the peple to gidere hem chosen and ordeyneden, as it is open there, Acts vj^e. c̃. And therfore the now rehercid firste premysse of the ij^e. semyng skile is to be denyed.

Their argument falsely implies that Christ himself ordained everything necessary to the clergy of his church. But he never ordained for them or for any man the necessaries of life made by men's craft, but only the matter and wit necessary for their production. These remarks applied to the appointment of deacons and endowing of the clergy.

Also into this same purpos thus: The rehercid firste premisse myȝte not be trewe, but if he schulde meene and vndirstonde that Crist ouȝte and wolde haue ordeyned bi him silf and in his owne persoon al that is nedeful to his clergie of his chirche, as is open ynow. But this meenyng is vntrewe. Forwhi breed and wijn and ale and housing and clothing and manie othere thingis maad bi mennys craftis ben necessarie to be had in persoones of his clergie, and ȝit Crist in his owne persoon and bi him silf ordeyned not and ȝeueth not to eny man breed or wyin or gowne or hood or hous; but he ȝeueth bi him silf and in his persoon maters of which breed and wijn and housis and clothis ben to be mad, and therwith he ȝeueth to men hondis and feet and membris of the bodi and inward and outward sensityue wittis and resoun and wil and moving powers, bi whiche alle applied to gidere men mowen make breed, wijn, housis, and clothis. And in lijk maner Crist ȝaf to the Apostlis witt of resoun for to knowe that dekenhode was profitable to his clergie, and Crist ȝaf to hise Apostlis wil for to chese tho dekenes; and so in that Crist ȝaue to hem dekenes mediatli, that is to seie, bi meenis bifore ȝouun to the Apostlis. And if this be trewe, whi not in lijk maner, for lijk skile, it is to be seid, that Crist ȝaf mediatli, (that is to seie, bi meene ȝiftis to his clergie,) the endewing of immouable godis, which the clergie now hath: for as miche as Crist ȝaue to the clergie witt and wisdom forto knowe

thilk endewing be profitable to the clergie, and also wil forto aske and receyue the same endewing; thouȝ Crist ȝaue not to his clergie thilk same endewing bi him silf immediatli, (that is to seie, withoute eny bifore ȝouun meenys,) riȝt euen as he ȝaue dekenhode to his clergie mediatli, thouȝ he ȝaue not the same dekenhode to his clergie immediatli? And so open it is herbi, that the firste premisse of the ij^e. semyng skile is to be denied.

It is no argument to say that Christ's love to his ministers would be less than man's love, if he directly endowed them not and they did.

And whanne it is argued ferther, that thilk first premisse muste be trewe, for ellis God loued not so miche his clergie as men endewing his clergie loueden his clergie, certis this folewith not. Forwhi at sum while it mai so be, that the ȝeuer or benefeter forto ȝeue mediatli, (that is to seie bi a meene to the receyuer,) schal be more profitable to the receyuer than schulde be, if the ȝeuer schulde ȝeue the same ȝifte or benefet immediatli bi him silf to the same receyuer. Also at sumwhile it mai be so, that more good and more honeste or more preising and worschip schal come, (alle thingis considerid and biholdun,) to the ȝeuer, if the ȝeuer ȝeue mediatly his ȝifte or benefete, than schulde come if he ȝaf the same ȝifte or benefet immediatli bi him silf. And so it mai be ful weel, that not for defaut of loue had to the receyuer, neither for the lasse loue as in that and for that born anentis the receyuer, the ȝeuer ȝeueth his ȝifte or benefet to the receyuer, but for the more loue had and born bi the ȝeuer anentis the receyuer.

A gift may be more profitable to the receiver, and more honourable to the giver, when made mediately and not immediately.

Also it mai be ful ofte, that for the more good to be doon al abouȝte, (thouȝ not al to the receyuer,) it bisemeth and it is fitting,[1] and therfore it is to be doon, that the ȝeuer ȝeue his ȝifte and benefet mediatli and not immediatli: and ȝit this doing is not so

A gift made mediately may also be more conducive to the general good, than when made immediately to the receiver. From hence it

[1] *sitting*, MS.

CHAP. IX.

may appear that Christ's love to his church may not be less but rather greater, because he has acted in this matter as he has done.

maad for the lasse loue to the receyuer, than schulde be if he ȝaf it immediatli. Wherfore sithen we ben sure that God loueth his chirche as his spouse, and dooth no thing to it for defaut of[1] loue, (and namelich not for that he loueth his chirche lasse than eny man loueth it, as it is open Isaie xlix^e^. c̃., where God seide to his oolde chirche thus; *Whethir a womman mai forȝete her ȝong child, that sche haue not merci on the sone of hir wombe? Thouȝ sche forȝetith, y schal not forȝete thee:*) it is to be feelid therof folewingli, that this doing of God bi which he dooth to his chirche hise ȝiftis, puruiauncis, and benefetis mediatli is so maad of him for oon of the[2] ij. causis now rehercid, or for sum other lijk resonabili to be allowid cause, and therfore not for that he loueth his chirche lasse than eny creaturris louen or loueden or schulen loue it. And herbi it is to be feelid and seid, that in this wirching of Crist, bi which he wrouȝt mediatli into the endewing of his clergie, was as greet or gretter schewyng of his loue toward his clergie, thanne was the schewing of loue which peple mad to his clergie bi that that thei wrouȝten immediatli into the same endewing. And this is answere good ynouȝ at this tyme to the secunde semyng skile.

X. CHAPITER.

THE THIRD ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. St Jerome's opinion is not infallible. His assertion is probably untrue, and even if true does not prove the rich endow-

To the iij^e^. semyng skile y answere thus: I graunte that Ierom seide tho wordis, *Sithen the chirche wexid in dignitees or in possessiouns, he decrecid in vertues:* as thouȝ his meenyng had be this, "Euer and "alwey sithen the chirche wexid in possessiouns, he "decrecid in vertues." But what here of, thouȝ he

[1] *of* is interlineated by a later hand.

[2] *these*, MS. (first hand).

so seide? Certis his tunge was not the key of heuen or of erthe, neither had power to make eny thing to be trewe or fals, or other wise to be than he couthe fynde bifore it to be trewe or fals in doom of resoun or in Holi Scripture. Whi therfore schulen we ouer miche weie and apprise his seiyng? First y schal schewe ful likeli that hise wordis were not trewe; and thanne next y schal schewe vnsoilabili that, thouȝ tho wordis weren trewe, ȝit out of hem folewith not that the endewing of the clergie with riche possessiouns is yuel and vnleeful.

ments of the clergy to be evil and unlawful.

First that tho wordis weren not trewe, it semeth herbi. How euer kunnyng and weel leerned preestis and prelatis a this[1] side of the Apostlis weren to gidere in[2] eny tyme in the clergie of[3] the chirche bifore his endewing in riche possessiouns, so kunnyng and weel leerned preestis and prelatis han ben to gidere sithen and aftir that the chirche was endewid bi vnmouable possessions; ȝhe, and myche kunnynger and better leerned; and also therwith mo suche han be[4] sithen. For, who euer can schewe that bifore the daies of Hillari, Ambrose, Ierom, and Austyn, and Gregori weren in the Latyn chirche so worthi techers with holi lyuyng to gidere as thei weren and as her successouris weren, y schal ȝeue to him myn arme.

His words are probably untrue. There have been as many learned and holy prelates since the church was richly endowed as before, and indeed much more learned.

Ferthermore, how euer goostli almysful preestis and prelatis in preching and in writing profitable bokis weren to gidere in eny tyme bifore the seid endewing, so almysful in the seid goostli almes han ben to gidere sithen[5]; ȝhe, and miche more almysful, bi

Good preaching and profitable books have also increased since the clergy have been more richly endowed and better educated.

---

[1] *athis*, MS.

[2] *in* is interlineated, perhaps by a later hand.

[3] So the original scribe, rightly: but a later hand has made an erasure and changed *of* into *or*.

[4] *ben*, MS. (first hand).

[5] *sithen* is interlineated in a later (?) hand.

CHAP. X.

cause thei weren kunnynger and better leerned; and therwith many mo such han be sithen.

Alms have likewise been more plentifully distributed, because the clergy have had more to give.

Also hou euer in bodili maner almesful preestis and prelatis han be in eny tyme to gidere bifore the seid endewing, so almesful in bodili almes han be to gidere preestis and prelatis sithen; ȝhe, and miche more so almesful, as is open ynouȝ; for thei hadden possessiouns, wher of thei myȝten miche more avorthi into almes, than thei that hadden litil and as it were nouȝt.

There have been as many confessors and martyrs among the clergy since Constantine's days as before; and many have had the spirit of martyrs who did not suffer martyrdom. On the whole, therefore, the assertion of Jerome seems to be false. Unworthy promotions have been the only cause why in later ages evil has arisen from the rich possessions of the clergy.

Ferthermore, as holi confessouris and as manie in the same lengthe of tyme han be of preestis and prelatis sithen the seid endewing, as were bifore the seid endewing a this[1] side the Apostlis; and as holi and as manye and mo of martiris bi deeth, (and other wise troublid bi exile and bi prisonyng,) hanbe[2] of preestis and of prelatis sithen the seid endewyng in tyme to gidere, than were bifore in eny tyme of lijk quantite to gidere. And thouȝ in tho[3] daies of Emperouris Nero and of Traian and of Domician and of Dioclician and othere suche manie mo martiris weren made than in tyme[4] of lijk quantite sithen tho daies, certis, ȝit the multitude of tho martiris were lay men and not preestis or bischopis. Forwhi alle the bischopis and othere preestis, that weren in tho daies thoruȝ manie ȝeeris to gidere, weren ful fewe. And also thouȝ it hadde be so, that mo bischopis and preestis hadden be martiris in the daies of tho princis than in the daies of princis a this side the Emperour Constantyn, ȝit it was oonli for this, that persecucioun of tirantis was redier in tho daies than was sithen in the daies of Constantyn and aftir hise daies; and it

[1] *athis*, MS., and similarly a little below.

[2] *hanben*, MS. (first hand). The conjunction of the words is probably not accidental.

[3] Probably we should read *the*.

[4] *intyme*, MS.

was not for defaut of good wil in the preestis and bischopis lyuyng forto suffre martirdom, if it hadde be profrid to hem and if God hadde purveied so for hem. For y dare weel seie that Ierom, Ambrose, Austin, and Gregori weren as redi in wil forto haue suffrid marterdom, if it hadde be putt to hem, as euer was eny othir preest or bischop which bifore the endewing of the chirche was martirid a this side[1] the Apostlis: wherfore the holynes was as greet[2] in thes persoones not martirid as was in hem, namelich sithen these haboundiden in greet doctrine and in cure mynistring miche aboue hem. Wherfore folewith that tho wordis writun *In vitas Patrum*, bi whiche it is meened thus, "that alwey and euer, sithen the clergie " of the chirche[3] encrecid in possessiouns, he decrecid " in vertues," is[4] vntrewe. For in the bigynnyng of the seid endewing and bi long tyme aftir, al the while that weel leerned men and weel proued men in lyuyng were takun into prelacie, the chirche grewe vpward bothe in kunnyng and in lyuyng, as therto ful miche the seid riche endewing helpid; and therfore this, that the chirche or the clergie sithen the seid endewing hath decrecid in vertues, came bi an other thing yn and bi an other wey than bi the seid riche endewing; which other thing and wey, if it were kutt awey, the riche endewing schulde do ful miche good and lette miche yuel. And so wolde God that thilk now meened thing and wey were so kutt awey!

Next if Jerome's words were true, it follows not that the endowment of the clergy is unlawful. It is in the

Now next aftir this, thouȝ tho wordis writun *In vitas Patrum* and vndirstondun in the seid menyng were trewe, ȝit that therof[5] folewith not the purpos of the argument, which is that the seid riche endewing

[1] *seide*, MS. (first hand).
[2] *agreet*, MS. (first hand).
[3] *of the chirche* is added in the margin by a later (?) hand.
[4] The construction requires *are*; yet perhaps the scribe is guiltless.
[5] *ȝit therof*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. X.

nature of things that after a certain time they decline. Ever since London bridge has been supported by rents, it has continually declined, and will decline. Application of this observation to the present purpose, and further remarks on the meaning and authority of Jerome's words.

schulde be yuel, y proue thus: These wordis which y schal now seie ben trewe. Alwey and euer, sithen the brigge of Londoun was endewid with temperal rentis, the same brigge hath be febler and febler, and euer schal so be into tyme he be at his laste cast. What folewith here of? Schulen men seie her of to folewe, that thilk temperal endewing so ȝouun into the mentenance of the brigge is harmeful or yuel to the brigge? Alle men witen weel that it not so folewith. But thanne whi folewith it not? Certis for[1] the brigge and ech hous is of such nature and kinde, that aftir a certein of ȝeeris next to his first making he biganne to appeire, and he euer sithen appeirith, and schal appeire needis: euen[2] as a man aftir a certein of hise ȝeeris spend schal appeire, how euer miche cost be sett into the mentenaunce of his bodili weelfare. In lijk maner al the hool chirche of God is of such kinde that, namelich after a certeyn tyme of his age, he appeirid, and schal appeire contynueli; as Crist ther of prophecied, Math. xxiiij^{e}. c̃., and Mark xiij^{e}. c̃., and Poul, first Thim. iiij^{e}. c̃., and ij^{e}. Thym. iij^{e}. c̃. Weel thanne, sithen this is the cause whi out of the briggis contynuel appeiring sithen he was endewid folewith not thilk endewing forto be to him yuel, bi the same or lijk skile, thouȝ the chirche bothe in the laife and in the clergie kepe his nature of contynuel appeiring aftir the tyme in which riche endewing was ȝeuun therto into his supporting, therof folewith not that the endewing mad to the clergie is vnprofitable to the chirche and is synful and vnleeful; no more than that the endewing ȝouun to the brigge of Londoun into the supporting of his contynuel appeiring is to the same brigge harmeful. The seid Fadir *In vitas Patrum* schulde therfore haue seid more

[1] Probably we should read *for that*.

[2] *euen* is added in the margin by a later hand.

than he seide in the bifore rehercid wordis, if bi hise wordis he wolde haue meened that the endewing of the clergie hadde be yuel doon. For he muste haue seid thus miche: "Alwey and euer sithen the chirche "wexid in possessiouns he decrecid in vertues, and "thilk wexing in possessiouns was cause or occasioun "of thilk decrecing in vertues; therefore this endew-"ing of the chirche in possessiouns was yuel doon." And if thou bere him an hond that he meened so myche bi hise bifore rehercid wordis, thouȝ he not alle hem out spake, certis ȝit y schal proue that of al this meenyng, thus largeli born an hond to him, folewith not the seid endewing to be yuel doon and to be vnleeful. Forwhi, if he meened that the seid endewing was cause of the seid chirchis decrecing in vertues, he seide not ther yn trewe; sithen it is proued bifore in the viij[e].[1] chapiter, and schal more be proued aftir in the [2] chapiter, that such endewing is not cause but occasioun oonli of moral yuel. And if this Fader meened that the seid endewing was occasioun oonli of the seid chirchis decrecing, ȝit therof folewith not the seid endewing to be yuel doon and to be vnleeful, as is proued bifore ful pleinli in the vij[e]. chapiter of this present iij[e]. partie. Forwhi than God hadde yuel do in endewing Lucifer with so greet fairnes, and in endewing men with her tungis; and so in no wise bi, fro, and out of this seid Fadris wordis, thouȝ thei weren trewe, folewith the seid riche endewing of the clergie to be vnleeful or to be yuel doon.

xj. CHAPITER.

It is further to be considered how much good

FERTHERMORE for to trete upon this Fadris seiyng, thouȝ this what is now seid and proued, (that the

[1] *vij[e]*., MS.

[2] A space left in the MS. for the number. See Part iv. ch. iii.

CHAP. XI.

as well as how much evil the rich endowment of the clergy occasions. No one can be sure that it occasions more evil than good, and so no one can without presumption say that it ought to be put an end to.

seid endewing to be oonli an occasioun of yuel, and not to be cause of yuel,) is ynouȝ forto lette of the oold Fadris seid wordis folewe the riche endewing of the clergie be yuel doon; ȝit more than this mai be sett therto into the same purpos, and in this maner; that, thouȝ a gouernance be an occasioun of yuel, it is to be considerid ferther of how miche good the same gouernaunce is occasioun and of how myche yuelis letting and forbaring the same gouernaunce is an occasioun, with this, that the same gouernaunce is an occasioun of sum yuel, thouȝ not of riȝt myche yuel. And if of al the yuel, which cometh bi the gouernaunce, the same gouernaunce is not but an occasioun and not cause; and therwith the same gouernaunce is occasion of myche good, and is occasioun of letting miche yuel; and herwith it is not knowun whethir the yuel comyng bi the seid gouernaunce is more than the yuel which is lettid bi the same gouernaunce;—certis no man ouȝte thilk while iuge that thilk gouernaunce ouȝte be leid awey. But so it is in this present purpos, that thouȝ the riche endewing of the clergie be an occasioun of myche yuel, ȝit it is an occasioun of myche good; and it is also occasioun of aȝen putting miche synful yuel, which ellis schulde falle; and no man can iuge pleinli and sureli, that the yuel which cometh bi the seid riche endewing is gretter than is the yuel which is lettid to be bi the same endewyng; as y commytte to the discrecioun of wise men for to it ouerse and iuge. And her with it is trewe, that the seid riche endewing is not cause of the yuelis which comen occasionarili oonli bi it, as it is bifore proued in the [viij^{e}.][1] chapiter of this present iij^{e}. partie. Wherfore no wise man neither eny other man without ouer greet booldnes of presumpcioun ouȝte iuge and seie,

[1] A space left in the MS. for the number.

that the seid riche endewing ouȝte be kutt awey for the yuel of which the same endewing is occasioun.

It seems probable from reason and Scripture that the said endowment hinders more evil than it occasions. Proof of this from reason. It is harder to suffer pain and want than to abstain from lusts and pleasures. So that more danger arises to the clergy from poverty than from riches.

Ȝit ferther, not withstonding al this, it mai seme bothe bi reson and bi Holi Scripture, that the yuel which is lettid bi the seid riche endewing is gretter than the yuel which is comyng out ther of and ther bi. And forto proue this first bi resoun y procede in this wise: It is miche harder forto suffre peyne of fleisch in this lijf than it is forto forgo and forbere lustis of fleisch in this lijf, as ech man may soone aspie in experience: and also bi resoun, for bi suffring of peyne bodili deeth cometh miche sooner than bi forbering of delectaciouns oonli. And if this be trewe, thanne it is more perel to a man for to bere him weel in suffring of peyne, than is forto bere him weel in forbering of delectaciouns and lustis. But so it is, that al the perel which is in hauyng of grete ricchessis is, lest a man bere him not weel in forbering lustis; and the perel which is in lacking richessis is, lest a man bere him not weel and strongli in suffring of peyne. Wherfore nedis folewith, that more perel is to a man,[1] whanne he is sett in to suffring of peyn, than whanne he is sett into forbering of lustis. And thanne ferther thus: But so it is, that whanne a man is sett forto reioice grete ricchessis, he is sett forto forbere lustis strongli and manli; and whanne he [is] sette forto lacke tho ricchessis, he is sett forto suffre peynes strongli and manli. Wherfore folewith needis, that gretter perel is in lacking of ricchessis than in the hauyng of hem; and gretter perel nouȝwhere is,[2] saue where grettir yuel is likeli to come: wherefore gretter yuel were likeli to come in the clergie, if thei hadden lak of plenteuose ricchessis, than if thei hadden plenteuose ricchessis.

---

[1] *a man*, MS. (first hand, a corrector having wrongly erased the article).

[2] *is* is interlineated by a later (?) hand.

CHAP. XI.

Proof of the same thing from Scripture. In St. Paul's time the Corinthian preachers, who lived only on voluntary offerings, were tempted to please the people with new and false doctrines, when they perceived their maintenance diminishing; and to set them against the doctrines and persons of the Apostles. These evils resulted from the poverty of the clergy.

For to proue the same bi Holi Scripture y procede thus: Frowhens schule we trowe this came, that so manye pseudo or false Apostlis preching for lucre weren in the chirche in tyme of the Apostlis, as of such spekith Poul and Peter and Iohun and Iudas in her Epistilis, than fro this now to be seid? Aftir that thei weren assigned bi the veri Apostlis forto preche, thei hadden no finding assigned and lymytid to hem in propre neither in comoun; bi cause the clergie in thilk daies was not endewid with vnmouable possessiouns; neither was eny posytyue lawe mad, wherbi the prechouris myȝten cleyme eny certeinte of porcioun to be ȝouun to hem of the lay peple to whom thei prechiden; but thei eten freeli ȝouun mete and drinke of hem to whom thei freli prechiden; neither thei weren so stronge in pacience and in douȝtynes that thei wolden laboure for her lijflode and contynue her preching, whanne the peple wexe vnkinde and vndeuout forto sufficiently hem fynde in necessaries, (as Poul for lijk caus and in lijk caas wrouȝte with hise hondis forto haue his lijflode to preche:) and therfore thei weren temptid and stirid and brouȝt into consent and into deede and werk for to preche bi gileful meenis, wherbi thei myȝten the more redili receyue of the peple ȝiftis in to her eese and habundaunt fare; and therfore thei prechiden newe thingis and vntrewe thingis forto plese the peple the more; and at the laste, (for as miche as ther fore bitwixe the Apostlis and hem wexid distaunce and contrauersie, as needis muste wexe,) tho pseudo Apostilis wrouȝten persecucioun bothe priueili and openli aȝens the trewe Apostlis, and peruertiden ofte tymes myche what the trewe Apostilis hadden weel groundid, and thei turneden the peple ful ofte and myche forto lothee and hate the Apostilis, and forto not bileeue to[1] the verry

[1] *to* is interlineated by a later hand.

trewe Apostilis, as mai be had of the firste and ij^e^. Epistilis of Poul to the Corynthies. And whether this yuel comyng into the chirche in this now seid maner, and that for defaute of riches, was not a greet myscheef; ȝhe, and gretter than schulde haue be likeli to falle, if alle the clergie in tho daies hadde be endewid bi vnmouable godis richeli, deme ȝe. For what[1] so greet myscheef schulde bi likelihode haue come bi habundaunce of ricches in tho pseudo, as came bi her pouerte in hem, whanne thei diffameden the trewe Apostlis and peruertiden the Corinthies and the Thessalonicenses[2] fro the wey in which Poul and Apollos[3] hadden hem foundid and groundid? And therfore to alle freel persoones and not disposid to greet perfitnes of pacience and of douȝtines, as Poul was, the lak of sufficience is of more perel than habundance ouer and aboue sufficience.

Also forto proue this same purpos more euidentli bi Holi Scripture, y procede also thus: It is writun, Prouerb. xxx^e^. c̃. thus: *ȝeue thou not to me beggerie neither richessis; ȝeue thou oonli necessaries to my lijflode; lest peraventure y be fillid and be drawen to denye, and seie, Who is the Lord? and leste y compellid bi nedines stele, and forswere*[4] *the name of my God.* Lo how Salamon is aknowe to God that bothe greet ricches and lak of sufficience ben occasiouns of yuel; and therfore for feer he desirid the meene, which is sufficience, withoute hauyng of nede and withoute hauyng of more richesse than is necessarie into sufficience, as weel for thanne as for tyme to come. Neuertheles into my present purpos he weel witnessith, that gretter perel is[5] in lak of sufficience than is in habundaunce of grete ricchessis;

Further proof from Solomon's prayer, in which he prays for sufficiency, and against beggary and riches; lest riches might lead him to forget God, but beggary to deny him, which is worse.

[1] *forwhat*, MS.
[2] *Tessalonicenses*, MS.
[3] *Appollo*, MS.
[4] *for swere*, MS.
[5] *is* is added by a later hand.

CHAP. XI.

sithen he openli knoulechith that the yuel, of which lak of sufficience is occasioun, is gretter yuel than is the yuel, of which habundaunce of ricches is occasion. Forwhi, as he seith, the yuel, of which the lak of sufficience is occasioun, is to stele and forsake God bi ooth and so bi avisement; and the yuel, of which habundaunce of ricches is occasioun, is forto forsake[1] God in a liȝtnes and in a rechelesnes. And alle men witen that the former of these ij. defautis is gretter than is the secunde. Wherfore more yuel cometh of lak of ricches than of habundaunce of ricches.

The sufficiency there spoken of is a permanent provision against present or future want.

For more pleyner vndirstonding to be had upon the now bifore rehercid wordis of Salamon, Prouerb. xxx^e. c̃., and forto wite what Salamon meened in hem, and forto therbi se how it is trewe that greeter yuel cometh bi lak of ricches than bi the hauyng of ricches, it is to vndirstonde and to holde that Salamon in the now seid text meened bi "sufficience" not oonli the hauour which fillith or remedieth al his lak and nede now had, but which is ther with so abiding that it schal not lasse; or ellis not so myche lasse, but that it schal alwey aftir[2] be able to fille and remedie al his lak and nede, which is for eny tyme likeli to falle. And that Salamon vndirstode thus bi the seid sufficience spokun in his text, it is open herbi; forwhi al hauour, that is lasse than is this now seid sufficience, is "beggeri" as for now or as for tyme to come, as schal appere and be open anoon[3] aftir whanne it schal be declarid what beggeri is. Wherfore sithen Salamon preied that "beggerie "schulde not falle to him," and ȝit that "he schulde "haue sufficience," he muste needis vndirstonde bi sufficience such a thing which ledith not into beggerie,

[1] *sake*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *aftir* is added in a later hand, which has made erasures in the text.

[3] *anoon* is interlineated by a later hand.

but which aȝenstondith beggerie. And that is the sufficience now declarid.

Beggary here means the lack of such sufficiency.

Forthermore bi "beggerie" Salamon vndirstondith in the same text al lak[1] of the now seid sufficience, or the lak of the now seid sufficient hauour. Forwhi whanne euere eny man lackith his seid sufficient hauour, and is not in nyȝe power forto gete or haue it bi his owne wynnyng or bi eny other wey than bi asking it of othere, that it be ȝouun to him, sotheli than he is excusid forto begge; and his plite, in which he thanne is, which is not ellis than lak of sufficience into what he hath for than to do, mai and ouȝte be clepid to him beggerie.

And contrariwise riches signify its excess.

The "ricches" of which he spekith in the same text is hauour of so miche ricches, that thouȝ it lassee and abbate, as myche as it is likeli it abate bi condicioun of the world, ȝit it schal not be so litil, but that it schal be to a man ouer and aboue the seid sufficience,[2] al the while that he hath to do with thilk ricches. And that he vndirstode thus bi thilk ricches, y proue thus: If he hadde vndirstonde eny ricches lasse than this now seid, sithen ech ricches lasse than this now seid wole make bi proces of tyme to his possessour state or plite of sufficience, it wolde folewe that Salamon in the seid text, whanne he preied that ricches schulde not be ȝouun to him, he preied ther yn that sufficience schulde not be ȝouun to him. Wherfore he meened bi ricchesse as it is now expowned.

Application of Solomon's prayer to the case of ecclesiastical endowments. Founders of convents and

And so folewith herof, that vndir the meenyng of Salamon in his now rehercid preier to God it is includid that he wolde this: If eny couent or comounte or eny oon persoon schulde be endewid into such sufficience

[1] *al-lak*, MS.

[2] *the seid sufficience* is added in the margin by a later hand.

CHAP. XI.

colleges must leave much more to their foundations than is barely sufficient for their original and immediate wants, if they wish to keep them from beggary.

that he schulde not falle into beggerie, he muste be endewid with lijflode which schal neuere appeire; and therwith hise costis muste be suche, that thei schulen neuere encrece; or ellis, for as miche as these ij. now rehercid pointis mowe not be had abiding in eeny comounte or persoon, therfore in the seid preier of Salamon muste needis be includid this,—that ech couent or comounte or persoon to be endewid in to his sufficience muste needis be endewid with so miche good that, (thouȝ it appeire as myche as it is to appeire bi his natural condicion and bi the[1] rennyng condicioun of the world,) ȝit it schal neuere so miche abate, but that al the nede of thilk same couent,[2] comounte, or persoon schal ther bi be releeued and remedied: and ellis thilk couent, comounte, or persoon is not foundid and endewid into his sufficience, as Salamon takith here sufficience. Forwhi he is not foundid and endewid fro this, that he is out of the fal into beggerie bi proces of tyme. And so herbi founders of collegis and of couentis and of persoones and of statis mowen[3] take[4] good remembraunce, if thei founde eny such, that thei founde and endewe miche aboue the sufficience which is into the remediyng of nede had in the dai of fundacioun: and ellis, certis, bi proces of tyme her werk, otherwise than so foundid and endewid, schal come into beggerie, which y woot weel thei wolen not desire but avoide, what thei mowe.

Consequently founders of colleges are deserving of all praise, if they endow them much beyond their wants, when they are first founded.

For sureli to seie y haue take heede, and in al my daies and long bifore y wiste neuere ȝit college or cumpanie endewid, (thouȝ thei weren endewid ouer and more than the nede of hem askid in the dai of

[1] *the* is interlineated, perhaps by a later hand.

[2] *couēt*, MS., the stroke over the *o* being apparently by the same hand.

[3] *mowe*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *take* is added by a later hand.

her fundacioun,) but that aftirward her endewing so myche schranke and her costis so miche grewe more than couthe be bifore seen, that it was aftirward ouer litle to supporte her necessaries. And therfore founders and endewers of eny persoones or comountees, if thei endewiden so richeli, that it was more than bi streit mesure was to her nede ynouȝ in the dai of her fundacioun, thei weren[1] not ther yn to be blamed; but thei weren[1] ther yn to be preisid, bi cause that thilk lijflode wolde continueli schrinke, and the costis wolde contynueli growe and encrece. Forwhi if a fadir for loue to his sone wolde ordeine to him a peire of schoon, and the lethir wher of the schoon schulde[2] be maad were of such kinde that it wolde daili schrinke whilis it were vsid in weryng, certis this fadir were not to be blamed, if he wolde ordeyne that these schoon be notabli widdir than the meetenes of hem wolde aske, as for the firste dai in which thei schulden be[3] worne, but he were to be preisid, if he wolde so ordeyne to his loued sone; ȝhe, the fadir were worthi be blamed, if he wolde ordeyne these schoon to be no wijdir than euen meete to hise sones feet in the dai of his[4] firste wering. Forwhi therof wolde needis folowe that with inne proces of daies the schoon schulden be so narowe, that thei schulden needis wringe his sones feet into greet peyne of his sone. And therfore bi lijk skile the endewers of religioses hauing possessioun and of cathedral chirchis and of collegis weren not to be blamed in that, that thei so richeli endewid her foundid cumpenies aboue the[5] streit or euen meet of the nede had in the dai of fundacioun, but thei weren ther yn to be preisid, if thei so diden, for the[5] cause now seid; thouȝ the

[1] *were*, MS. (first hand) twice.
[2] *sculde*, MS.
[3] *be* is interlineated by a later hand.
[4] *her*, MS. (first hand) apparently, which is perhaps better.
[5] *the* is interlineated by a later hand (twice).

CHAP. XI.

persoones so foundid ben miche to be blamed, but[1] thei in the meene tyme wijsly and weel kepe thilk ricchessis and wijsly and weel hem expende, as sufficient resoun wole deme.

But it does not follow that this sufficiency is the most perfect way of life, because Solomon chose it. Scripture neither asserts nor implies anything of the kind.

But of al this, (thouȝ founderis and endeweris of couentis, of collegis, of statis, and of persoones in state ouȝten for to in this maner endewe, whilis thei entenden forto warde and wilne that her werk come not into beggerie; and thouȝ Salamon preied to God that he schulde not haue lasse than the seid sufficience declarid now bifore to be of his meenyng, and that he schulde not falle into the[2] beggerie also now bifore declarid to be of his meenyng,) schal it be seid therfore of this to folewe, that it is a perfiter lijf forto lyue in such a now seid sufficience or in the seid richessis, than forto lyue in the seid beggerie? Nai certis, this folewith not. For thouȝ Salamon so preied for more suerte to his freelnes, and for that he was not so perfit that he couthe bere beggerie at ful[3] withoute sclaundre, bi cause, as Scripture witnessith weel, he was a ful freel man; and therfore he hadde more nede forto seke aftir the surer to him weies, than aftir the hardir and the bateilfuller weies and therfore the perfiter to him weies; and thouȝ founders and endeweris of collegis and of couentis and of persoones in state founden and endewen into more suerte, bi cause that in multitude of persoones fewe schulden be founde disposid to hiȝe perfitnes, (in reward of hem whiche schulen be disposid to meenes[4] and louȝer degre of lyuyng than is perfitnes:)—ther of folewith not, that ech other maner of lyuyng, dyuers fro this which Salamon askid, and dyuers fro this whiche the seid endewers entenden in her seid fundacioun and endewing, is not so holi and

---

[1] Perhaps we should read *but if*.

[2] *the* is interlineated by a later hand.

[3] *the ful*, MS. (first hand).

[4] Probably we should read *meener*.

so perfit as these ben; neither it is to be seid that Holi Writt approueth the seid sufficience to be of more holynes than the seid beggerie or the seid riche endewing, bi cause that Holi Writt makith mensioun that Salamon chase and askid rathir the seid sufficience than the seid beggerie or the seid ricchessis. For of this, that Holi Writt makith this now seid mensioun, folewith no more, but that Holi Writt groundith this[1] or witnessith this;—that Salamon chaas the seid sufficience bifore the seid beggerie and bifore the seid ricchessis. But the argument is nauȝt, "Holi Writt seith that Salamon chaas this bifore "that; therfore Holi Writt seith that this is bettir "than that;" but if therwith this were knowen for trewe, that Salamon chas this afore that, bi cause that this was bettir and perfiter than that, and that he weel knewe this to be better than that. But this Holi Writt seith not, and also this is not trewe, as may be proued: and therfore it is to be seid, as is now bifore seid, that Salamon,—as a freel [man], and as he which ofte and miche synned, and as he which knewe[2] his vnperfitnes, and was feerd forto aske and assaie and take upon him the hardir, hiȝer, and perfiter wey,—askid mekeli and discreetli the imperfiter[3] wey, as it which was to him surer and meeter than was the perfiter wey. And more than this can not bi the rehercid text of Salamon be had bi maistrie, if eny man be aboute forto seie ther aȝens nay, in the maner now mynistrid.

But this endowment with sufficiency is not sinful in any case, and for the most part of men is wisest and best.

Neuertheles alwey thoruȝ al what is seid euer this apperith to be trewe, that forto be endewid in to a sufficience aȝens beggerie, which ellis now schulde be, and aȝens beggerie, which ellis in tyme com-

[1] *this* is interlineated by a later (?) hand.

[2] *miche knewe*, MS. (first hand).

[3] ī *ꝑfit*ᵉ, MS. Very likely the scribe, (who often disjoins prepositions in composition from their nouns and verbs,) intended the text to be *in perfiter*.

CHAP. XI.

yng schulde come and be, is not vnleeful and synful; but it is according with doom of resoun, and is therfore leeful: ȝhe, and to[1] men being not disposid to grettist perfitnes, and of which it is not like to be turned into such disposicioun, it is discreetist and best.

xij. CHAPITER.

THE FOURTH ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. The story about the angel's voice in the air at Rome, when Constantine endowed the church, is neither certain nor probable; and so the argument fails.

To the iiij^e. semyng skile, which groundith him silf vpon a storie of a voice herd in the eir seiyng thus, *In this dai venom is hild out into the chirche*, it is to be seid, that thilk ground is not sure trouthe, neither he is likeli to be trewe: and ther fore neither eny sure trouthe[2] neither eny likeli to be trowid trouthe may be proued or knowun or trowid therbi. And so cesith al the strengthe of this iiij^e. semyng skile.

Four reasons to prove this. The first reason. Giraldus Cambrensis, (circa A.D. 1200,) the original authority for this story, says that the devil and not a good angel uttered the voice; so that those who believe the story must admit that the father of lies uttered the voice. And why is he to be believed?

That thilk storie, which the iiij^e. semyng skile takith for his ground and fundament, is not worthi to be trowid, y proue bi iiij. resouns; of whiche the firste is this: If no storier or cronycler hadde writun of thilk voice to be spokun in the eir, noman now ouȝte bileeue[3] or trowe that thilk voice was so spokun: so that al wherbi we ouȝte trowe[4] eny thing of thilk voice is this, for that so or so or so (and in noon other wise) it is writun in storie or cronicle of thilk voice spokun.[5] But so it is, that in noon storier or cronicler it is writun that eny good aungel seide thilk voice in the eir; but in ech storie or cronicle speking therof it is seid and writun that the feend spake thilk voice. Forwhi noon fundamen-

---

[1] *into*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *neither eny sure trouthe* is added in the margin by a later hand.

[3] *to beleeue*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *to trowe*, MS. (first hand).

[5] *writun*, MS. We must either make this correction, or cancel the first or second *writun*.

tal cronicler or storier writith therof, saue Girald in his book clepid *Cosmographia Hiberniæ;* and othere storiers and croniclers aftir him taking oonli of him. And he seith that "the oold enemy made thilk voice "in the eir."[1] Wherfore ech man, which wole trowe that thilk voice was seid in the eir, ouȝte answeringli trowe that thilk voice was spokun bi the feend, and not by a[2] good aungel. And if this be trewe, whi and wherto schulden we bileeue his seiyng to be trewe; sithen he is oure enemy and oure bigiler, as Scripture witnessith, i°. Pet. v°. c̃.; and sithen he is a lier and the fader of lesing, as Crist him silf witnessith, Iohun viij°. c̃.? CHAP. XII.

The ij°. resoun into the same purpos is this: If it were seid or witnessid of me that y seid certein wordis in a certeyn place, or that y seide hem after that y hadde do a certeyn deede; if it kouthe be knowe sureli or bi sufficient likelihode that y neuere was in thilk place, or that y neuere dide thilk deede, thilk witnessing so mad upon me were not to be bileeued, neither were worthi to be trowid trewe. Wherfore, bi lijk skile, sithen it is so that ech fundamental storie speking of this seid voice seith and storieth, that it was mad in the eir, aftir that the first Constantyn Emperour was baptisid at Rome of Siluester Pope, and aftir that he hadde endewid the Pope Siluester and the chirche of Rome, as it is open in the now bifore fundamental cronicle or storie of Girald, (and no man storieth therof saue he, and thei that sithen hise daies taken the same of him,) it folewith

The second reason. But in truth the whole story is fabulous from beginning to end. Constantine was not baptised at Rome nor by Silvester at all; but was baptised in Nicomedia by the bishop of Nicomedia, as Eusebius, a most credible historian, expressly testifies.

[1] There is an edited work of Giraldus Cambrensis, entitled *Topographia Hiberniæ*, in which this passage does not occur: there is, however, another treatise of his extant in MS., called *Descriptio Mundi*, in which it may possibly be found. See Cave's *Hist. Lit.* s. v. It will be observed that Sprott's account, quoted above, agrees with that of Giraldus, from whom it is no doubt copied.

[2] *an*, MS. (accidentally?).

CHAP. XII. that if it can be sureli or in sufficient likelihode proued, that the seid first Constantyn Emperour was neuere baptised of Siluester Pope neither at Rome, al the storiyng, cronicling, and witnessing of thilk same seid voice is not to be trowid for trewe. And thanne ferther forto proue that the seid firste Constantyn Emperour was not baptisid of Pope Siluester neither in Rome, y procede thus: Noman except Constantyn him silf schulde wite better whanne and where Constantyn was baptisid, than he which was lyuyng and conuersaunt with the same Constantyn, and was as priuey with Constantyn in the counceilis of his herte and of his conscience, as a confessour is now priuey with a prince to which he is confessour; as mai be take bi the storie clepid *The thre departid storie* in the firste book the iiij^{e}. chapiter, and in the ij^{e}. book the xiij^{e}. chapiter and the xvj^{e}. chapiter. But so it is, that this ful famose and worthi clerk and bischop Eusebi Cesarience, (ful miche preisid and bileeued of Seint Ierom,[1] and of whos worthines greet testimonie is had in the ij^{e}. book of *The thre departid storie* in the viij^{e}. chapiter and in the x^{e}. and xj^{e}. chapitris, bisidis the othere now bifore alleggid chapitris into the same purpos, and which wroot the moost famose and moost credible storie had among Cristen men next to the storie of the Bible, clepid *The Chirchis storie*, and which wroot the moost credible *Cronicle* of alle othere had among Cristen men, to which Ierom couplid the *Cronicle* which he wroot,) was moost homeli of alle othere with the seid Constantyn, and was so priuey and so homeli with the seid greet Emperour Constantyn, that bi the same Eusebi came out into

[1] The various testimonies in his favour from St. Jerome may be seen in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vol. 1. pp. lv.–lviii. (Burton's Ed.) The passages from the *Historia tripartita* of Cassiodorus, to which Pecock here refers, are not much to the purpose.

knowing of alle othere men the appering which was mad to Constantyn of the crosse in the eir, and which appering Constantyn toold in greet secreetnes to the same Eusebi and to no mo, as it is open bi the iiij^e^. chapiter in the firste book of *The iij. departid storie.* And this Eusebi, (so credible and, as a principal fadir in tho daies of the chirche, as moost and best knowing the lijf, conuersacioun, and holines of the same Constantyn,) took up on him for to write and storie the hool lijf and the deeth of the same Constantyn: and herwith he witnessith in the same *Book of Constantynys lijf*,[1] that the seid Constantyn was baptisid first in the laste daies of his lijf in Greek cuntre in the citee clepid Nichomedia and of the bischop clepid [Eusebi].[2] And this was doon aftir that Siluester was deed; for in the daies of Iulie Pope successour to Siluester, (as may liȝtli be had in cronicles,) that Siluester died, bifore that Constantyn died.

His account to be preferred before the legend of Silvester's acts or of Constantine's donation, and to the history of the popes by Damasus.

Wherfore this now seid thing which Eusebi so storieth in *The book of Constantynys lijf* is more to be bileeued or trowid than what into the contrarie is founde in eny legende of Siluester, (which noman can telle who wroot it, neither whens it came, or whidir it wole,) or than the storie of Damasus Pope writun to Ierom of deedis of Popis, or than eny storier or cronicler taking of the seid legend of Siluester or

[1] Euseb. *de Vit. Constant.* lib. iv. c. 62, 63.

[2] A space left for the name in the MS. Eusebius does not give it, but only says, (c. 61), when "ἐπὶ προάστειον τῆς Νικομηδέων ἀφικνεῖται πόλεως, . . . ὧδέ πη αὐτοῖς (the bishops present) διελέξατο:" after which (c. 63) he received baptism. Cave (*Hist. Lit.* s. v. Constantinus) observes: "Obiit . . . impetrato prius ab adstantibus episcopis baptismo, manu *ut videtur* Eusebii Nicomediensis, utpote loci illius episcopi; licet id nec Eusebius, nec Socrates, Sozomenus, vel Theodoritus referant." Several late writers, however, affirm it. See Brown. *Fasc. Rer.* pp. 158, 161. Marian. Scot. *Chron.* A.D. 336.

CHAP. XII.

taking of the seid Damesis storiyng writun by[1] Damasus long sithen Constantyn died, or than the long epistle which is pretendid to be the epistle of Constantyn and is sett in the book clepid *The decrees of Hiȝest Bischopis*, of which now seid long epistle a greet porcioun Graciaun puttith in his *Summe*, Dist. xcvj^{e}., chapiter [xiv^{e}.] *Constantinus:* namelich sithen in legendis ben founde manie ful vntrewe fablis, as in a book therof to be mad schal appeere, and sithen aȝens the seid epistle putt to Constantyn special suspicioun mai be had; for in othere epistlis of Constantyn, which he wroot whanne he was in his moost rialte, is not such a stile of him as is in this now seid epistle, (as ech man may se which wole biholde in the i^{e}. and ij^{e}. bookis of *The iij. departid storie;*) and sithen in the seid storie of Damase Pope is founde vntrouthe, which Ierom weel aspied, and fro which[2] Ierom gooth, and whos contrarie Ierom affermeth in his writing in his book *De viris illustribus*,[3] c̃. *Clemens*,[4] not withstonding that to Ierom was write and seid the same Damasis storiyng.[5]

---

[1] *in*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *the which*, MS. (first hand).

[3] Hieron. *de Vir. ill.* c. 15. (Op. tom. ii. p. 839. Ed. Vallars.) Pseudo-Damasus says of Clement that he wrote two epistles "quæ canonicæ nominantur;" Jerome, on the contrary, says, "secunda epistola . . . a veteribus reprobatur." (See Coleti, *Concil.* tom 1. pp. 75, 119.) This appears to be the discrepancy to which Pecock alludes.

[4] After *Clemens*, the MS. has "*and also in lijk maner of the same mater in his Cronicle which he made to be ioyned to the Cronicle of Eusebie:*" but a corrector has written *vacat* against the lines.

[5] The *Acta Silvestri*, in part perhaps the work of Isidorus Mercator, about 820 A.D. (see Coleti, *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 1573); the *Liber pontificalis* or *Gesta pontificalia* of Damasus, and his Epistle to Jerome, a medley of old things and new, (see Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s.v. Damasus); the *Edictum Constantini*, printed with notes in Coleti, *Concil.* tom. 1. pp. 1564–1576, and forming a part of the *Acta Silvestri*, and quoted by many authors from Isidore downwards (see Coleti, l.c. p. 1573), are now known to be spurious. The *Vita Silvestri* by Pseudo-Damasus is printed with notes in Coleti, *Concil.* tom. 1. pp. 1431–1444. The remark of Binius, "Hoc edictum de Constantini donatione ex actis

CHAP. XII.

This account confirmed by Ambrose and Jerome.

Also into the same purpos thus: Ambrose and Ierom helden so trewe it what Eusebi seid in the now rehercid maner of Constantyns baptising, that thei bileeueden it and witnessen it;[1] not withstonding Pope Damasis wroot the contrarie to Ierom: But so thei wolden not haue trowid and witnessid in her writing aȝens the legend of Siluester and aȝens the storiyng of Damase Pope,[2] but if thei hadden had sufficient euydence for to cleue in thilk mater to Eusebi and not to Damase, neither to the legend of Siluester. Wherfore the storiyng of Eusebi in this mater of Constantynys baptising is to be trowid bifore al other storie affermyng the contrarie.

And by the *Tripartite History*.

Also thus: Theodoritus,[3] Socrates, and Sozomenus weren the moost famose storiers in the daies of Theodosie the ij^e^. Emperour; of which iij. so famose storiers a worthi lettrid man and senatour of Rome clepid Cassiodor lete make and compile the ful famose and credible storie clepid *The iij. departid storie,* moost credible next to the storie of Eusebie clepid *The chirchis storie,* and was mad and compilid for thilk entent that it schulde be contynued in progresse and in processe to *The chirchis storie:* and ij. of these iij. seid storiers (that is to seie, Sozomenus and Theodoritus) witnessen accordingli with Eusebi Cesarience that the seid Constantyn was baptisid oonli in hise laste daies litle bifore his deeth, whanne he wiste he schulde die, in the xxxj^e^. ȝeer of his empire, and euen so long aftir he was conuertid into Cristen feith and Cristen holi

---

Silvestri Papæ, sub Eusebii Cæsareensis nomine falso Græce scriptis, *primum* edidit Theodorus Balsamon," about 1180 A.D., is true only as respects its Greek translation.

[1] Ambros. *de Ob. Theodos. Or.* c. 40. (Op. tom. ii. p. 1209, Ed. Benedict). Hieron. ap. Vincent. Bell. *Hist.* lib. xxiv. in fine. See Brown. *Fasc. Rer.* p. 158. The index to St. Jerome's works does not indicate the passage.

[2] See Coleti, *Concil.* tom, i. pp. 1431, 1567.

[3] *Theodoricus,* MS., and *Thedoricus* below.

CHAP. XII.

lyuyng, and in the same place which Eusebi spekith of.[1] Wherfore, if the reule of Crist in the Gospel be good and to be kept, which he techith there to be kept, that "in the mouth of ij. or thre schal ech "word of witnessing stonde,"[2] it folewith that this parti is miche more credible than is the contrarie partie; ȝhe, and that the contrarie parti is an apocrif. And so fynali it is proued that the storie affermyng the seid voice to be mad in the eir seijng, *This dai venom is hilde into the chirche,* is not credible.

The third reason. The authority of Giraldus is unsupported by any ancient authority now extant.

The iij^e. resoun is this: The storiyng which the seid Girald makith of this voice is this in wordis, *It is rad that the oold enemy pronouncid openli in the eir thus, This dai venom is hildid into the chirche.* Wherfore folewith that if it be not writun in eny storie bifore the seid storiyng of Girald, that the oold enemy made such a voice thanne in the eir, al the storiyng which Girald makith of the same voice is not to be bileeued. But so it is, that noon eldir storie or cronicle can be founde writun bifore the seid storiyng of Girald, in which eeldir storie is mensioun mad of thilk voice. Wherfore this that Girald writith of this voice is ful sengil to be bileued.

His only authority seems to have been popular rumour then current.

Confirmacioun to this resoun is this: Sithen the storiyng which Girald makith of this voice is this, *It is rad that such voice was in the eir, et cætera,* Girald ȝildith him silf in so storiyng that he is not the fundamental storier ther of, but that ther of is an other storie bifore him, fro which he takith his storiyng of the same voice: wherfore[3] if noon other storie be founde eeldir than the storie of Girald, in which eeldir storie mensioun is maad of this same voice, (as in trouthe no such storie or writing can as

[1] *Hist. Trip.* lib. iii. c. 12.
[2] See Matth. xviii. 16.
[3] The sense seems to require *therfore.*

ȝit be founde,) it folewith that at the leest vnto thilk eeldir storiyng be founde, the storiyng of Girald in mater of this voice is not to be bileeued; but it is to be bileeued that Girald was bigilid, (as manie othere writers bi liȝtnes and vnavisidnes han be,) that whilis and whanne thei herden in fame[1] that a thing or a deede was doon, thei trowiden that ther of was sum writing and storiyng: and thei maden hem silf ouer bold in thilk trowing forto write in her writingis, that of thilk deede it is writun and storied; not withstonding that no storiyng or writing is had ther upon. And so finali, forto conclude, it is proued that the iiij^{e}. semyng skile lackith al strengthe forto proue his entent.

xiij. CHAPITER.

THE iiij^{e}. resoun is this: If suche as is bifore seid a voice was spokun in the eir, whanne Constantyn had maad at Rome the endewing which he made, thilk voice was so maad and spoken in the eir for this, that thanne first endewing by immovable possessiouns entride into the chirche; or ellis for this, that thanne first greet habundaunt endewing bi immovable possessiouns entride into the chirche.

The fourth reason. If any such voice was uttered, it was either because the church was then first endowed absolutely or else then first abundantly. But both suppositions are false, and consequently the story also.

Thou maist not seie that for the firste of these twei causis: For whi in the daies of First Vrban Pope, goostli fadir and techer of Seint Cecilie Virgyn, which was mad pope bi an hundrid ȝeeris bifore the popehode of Siluestre and the regnyng of Constantyn Empereour, the chirche of Rome was endewid with immovable possessiouns, as croniclis openli witnessen, and as it is open bi the writing of the same Vrban in the greet book clepid *The decrees of Hiȝest*

For in the first place, the church of Rome had temporal possessions in Urban's time (222–230 A.D.), and the church of England still earlier, in the time of Lucius (circa 180 A.D.)

[1] *a fame*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. XIII.

Bischopis in the firste and ij^e^. chapitris of his decree ;[1] and also by manye mo ȝeeris bifore the daies of Pope Siluester and of Constantyn Emperour in the daies of Pope Eleutheri and of Luci, king of Britouns, the hool al chirche of Englond was endewid with temporal immovable possessiouns large and greete, forwhi with the same large and grete possessiouns with whiche bifore the hethen bischopis and hethen chirchis in Ynglond weren endewid, as stories witnessen[2] ; as of these bothe endewingis oold stories and cronicles[3] (being famose and worthi and credible and not being apocrifis) maken mension. And therfore not for the firste now bifore seid cause thilk voice was maad and spokun in the eir.

And next, Constantine's donations were on a small scale ; the large possessions of the pope being derived from Pepin, Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire, and Matilda of Tuscany, in much later times (754–1077 A.D.)

Thou maist not seie that for the ij^e^. cause now bifore seid thilk voice was maad in the eir : Forwhi, as anoon her aftir it schal be proued, the seid Emperour Constantyn endewid not the [4] Pope Siluester neither eny chirche in Rome with eny greet habundaunt immouable possessiouns, but oonli with possessiouns competentli and mesurabily, with sufficience seruying for the fynding of the preestis and mynystris of the chirchis whiche he endewid ; except oon chirche clepid [5] Constantynyana, into which chirche he ȝaf a certein of possessioun for fynding of liȝtis and for fynding of bawme into brennyng of laumpis, ouer the competent vnmouable endewing

[1] See Coleti, *Concil.* tom. 1. pp. 636, 637. This Epistle is spurious, being one of the forgeries of Isidorus Mercator. The Chronicles, such as that of Martinus Polonus (*Supp.* A.D. 226), who says, "Hujus tempore cœpit primum Romana ecclesia prædia possidere," are probably derived from it.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth (*De Gest. Brit.* lib. v. c. 1.) seems to be the original authority for this statement. How far it is "worthy and credible" the reader may judge from Fuller's *Ch. Hist. of Brit.* book 1. cent. ii., and Collier's *Eccl. Hist. of Brit.* book 1. cent. ii.

[3] *cronicles*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *not pope*, MS. (first hand).

[5] *clepid* is added in the margin by a later hand.

which he made into the same chirche for fynding of the preestis and mynystris seruying in the same chirche;[1] but al the habundaunt and riche endewing of the pope and his see chirche in Rome, came bi othere persoones longe aftir Constantyn, as by Pipyn king of France, and by Charles king of Fraunce and emperour, and bi Lodowic king of Fraunce and emperour, and bi Matilde a greet ladi which ȝaf the greet and riche and rial marchionat of Anchon to the pope to gidere at oonis, and bicame ther bi to be the douȝtir of Seint Peter, as in cronicles and stories it is open forto se,[2] and sumwhat therof is sett in the *Summe* of Gracian, Dist. lxiij^{e}., chapiter [xxx^{e}.] *Ego Lodowicus;* and in like maner diden manie othere persoones mo than of whom it is writun. Wherfore the seid voice was not maad in the eir for the ij^{e}. now bifore sett cause. And so fynali folewith that for no cause thilk voice was maad, and therefore no such voice at al was in the eir than mad, thouȝ bi sum corrupcioun of leesing the fame of thilk voice hath long tyme be had and contynued.

Eight various proofs that the pretended donation of Constantine is fictitious. The silence of Damasus is conclusive against it.

That this is trewe what is now bifore seid, that the First Constantyn Emperour endewid not Pope Siluester neither eny oon chirche in Rome with eny greetly habundant and riche vnmouable possessiouns, y mai proue bi manie euydencis; of whiche oon is this: If the seid Constantyn had mad such greet habundaunt riche endewing to Siluester and to the chirche in which Siluester sate, Damasus Pope had mad mensioun of thilk same endewing in the storie which he writith to Ierom, and that for dyuerse

---

[1] See Coleti, *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 1433.

[2] See Mart. Polon. *Chron.* (inter alios) for all the principal facts here mentioned in their proper places. The authorities, giving an account of Matilda's life and acts, are fully set down by Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* pt. II. c. II. § 11. (vol. 2. pp. 339, 340. Lond. 1841.)

CHAP. XIII.

skilis now anoon aftir to be rehercid; but not withstonding this the seid Damasus makith no mensioun of the seid greet endewing born an hond to Constantin, that he schulde it make to Siluester Pope. Wherfore treuthe is, that thilk greet endewing so born an hond was not maad.

For Damasus would have mentioned the great rather than the small endowments of Constantine, if he had known that they had been made, since he professes to send to Jerome as complete a history as he can; and he was more likely to know of his large than of his small donations.

The skilis ben these: Damasus was preied of Ierom, that Damasus schulde write to Ierom as miche as Damasus couthe fynde in Rome what was doon fro Petir into the dai of Damasus Pope; as the epistle of Ierom sent to Damasus and the epistle of Damasus to Ierom beren witnes. And Damasus writith aȝen to Ierom the now seid storie, and seith that al what he couthe and myȝte wite, encerche, fynde, and knowe what was doon fro Seint Petris daies into hise owne daies thanne lyuyng he hadde write in the now seid storie, which he sende to Ierom. Wherfore sithen it is not likeli that such a notable deede of endewing, if it hadde be doon bi Constantyn, schulde haue be vnknowe to Damasus succeding to Siluester withinne an hundrid of ȝeeris, more than othere smale endewingis doon bi Constantyn to diuerse chirchis of which Damasus makith mensioun alredi, it folewith that if thilk greet endewing of the Pope hadde be doon bi Constantyn, Damasus wolde haue write of it, as weel as of othere smaler and lasse endewingis mad to [1] chirchis in Rome bi Constantyn.

And he must have known of them, if they had been made, because he would have succeeded to them.

An other skile is: If thilk greet endewing hadde be mad to Siluester, Damasus schulde haue be in possessioun of the same endewing in the same tyme in which he wroot to Ierom; and of no thing Damasus myȝte bettir knowe than of the same thing which he helde in possessioun. Wherfore more sureli than of eny other thing, which Damasus wroot to Ierom in

[1] *to the*, MS. (first hand).

the seid story, he wolde haue write of thilk greet endewing, if eny such greet endewing hadde thanne be: and sithen Damasus not so wroot, it folewith that noon such greet eudewing was bi Constantyn doon. CHAP. XIII.

The iij^e. principal euydence is this: If eny such now seid endewing was mad bi Constantyn, sum mensioun schulde haue be mad therof in sum fundamental and credible stori or cronicle. But so it is, that of thilk endewing no stori or cronicle makith mensioun, saue the legende or storie of Siluestris gestis and the oon bifore seid epistle putt and ascryued vnlikeli to Constantyn, and tho stories and cronicles which taken of it and folewen it; and neither thilk storiyng of Siluestris gestis neither the seid epistle is not credible neithir worthi be allowid, as it is schewid bifore in the next chapiter, and as schal better be cleer aftir in this present chapiter. Wherfore it is not to be takun and to be trowid as a trouthe, that Constantyn made eny such seid so[1] greet endewing. The silence of credible historians is a strong argument against his donation.

The iiij^e. principal euidence is this: The worthi and famose and credible stori clepid *Thre departid storie* (mad of thre moost famose and credible storiers in Greek lond in the daies of Theodosie not long after Constantyn) makith mensioun in the laste chapiter of the iij^e. book, and in the iiij^e. chapiter and vj^e.[2] chapiter of the iiij^e. book, and bi manye othere chapitris in the hool book, that the greet Constantyn in hise laste daies, whanne he trowid be nyȝe his deeth, made his testament and departid his hool empire into thre parties, and tho thre parties he biquathe to hise thre sones, Constantinus, Constancius, and Constans; and in special he assigned and biquathe the lordschip of the west parti, which was Rome, with al the cuntrey The *Tripartite History*, moreover, directly overthrows it by its account of Constantine's will and of the territories of his immediate successors.

[1] *so* is interlineated in a later hand.

[2] The last reference is wrong; perhaps c. 35 is the place intended.

CHAP. XIII.

[a]boute out of Greek lond, to his eeldist sone Constantyn, which sone reioiced the same parti so to hem deuysid and that thoruȝ al his lijf, and his brother Constans next aftir him reioiced the same west parti of the hool empire, (not withstonding that Constans was ȝonger than Constancius,) and his brother Constancius after the deeth of hem bothe al the hool empire of Eest and West. But this schulde not haue be trewe, if the first grete Constantyn had maad the seid greet habundaunt upon him born an hond endewing. Forwhi thanne the sones of the same Constantyn myȝten not haue regned vpon Romayns and upon peple of al the cuntre ligging west fro Greek cuntre. Wherfore thilk seid greet endewing born upon the First Constantyn was neuere doon: and therfore the seid epistle ascriued to Costantyn,[1] and also the storie of Siluestris gestis ben not but vntrewe apocrifis.

Also Boniface IV. asked Phocas to give him the Pantheon to be converted into a church (608A.D.), which shows that Rome was not then his own.

The v^e^. principal euydence is this: After the deeth of Siluester Pope bi ccl. ȝeer, Boneface the iiij^e^. and Pope of Rome, willing forto halewe the hous in Rome clepid Panteon, and forto make it[2] a temple of alle martris, askide of Focas, being emperour bothe of the Eest and of the West, (that is to seie, of Greke lond and of the cuntrey ligging in west fro Greek lond,) leue forto so do; and he askid of Focas, that Focas schulde ȝeue to him thilk hous Panteon, that he myȝte ther of make a temple of alle martris, which was bifore a temple of alle ydolis.[3] But so it is, that this licence and this ȝifte the Pope Boneface wolde not haue askid of the Emperour Focas, namelich into so holi a purpos to be therbi sped, if Bonefas hadde be[4] ful lord of al Rome and of alle cuntrees ligging aboute bi ȝifte of the Firste Constantyn, and if Focas

[1] So the MS., perhaps by a clerical error, but ?

[2] *it* is interlineated by a later hand.

[3] Bed. *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 4.

[4] *be* is added by later hand.

hadde not be lord therof. Wherfore the seid large endewing born upon Constantyn to be mad to Siluester Pope was neuere doon. An so eftsoone it is open that the seid epistle ascryued to Constantyn and the storie of Siluestris gestis ben not but vntrewe apocrifes. CHAP. XIII.

The vj^e^. principal evidence is this: In alle the daies fro the deeth of the Firste Constantyn in to the daies of the Firste Charlis (being king of Fraunce and emperour of Rome to gidere bi v. C. ȝeer aftir the deeth of Siluester) regniden in successioun euermore oon emperour after an other pesibili to gidere and at oonys upon the eest cuntrey of Greek lond, and upon the west cuntre of Rome, and bi west Rome, as is open ynouȝ in cronicles; and how and whi fro thens[1] weren ij. emperouris oon in the West vpon Germanie and an other upon the Eest in Greek lond the cronicles declaren pleinli. In whiche daies, as it is miche likeli, came yn the lordschip which popis han had vpon Rome and the cuntrees aboute ligging, and that bi graunt of the First Charles, maad bi the pope emperour of Germanie, and bi graunt of Lodowic emperour aftir the same Charles. But this myȝte not haue be trewe, if the seid greet endewing born upon Constantyn hadde be doon. Wherfore truthe is that it was neuere doon.

Also from the time of Constantine's death (337 A.D.) to the time of Charlemagne (800 A.D.) the Greek emperors reigned over the whole East and West, including Rome. The temporal dominion of the popes over Rome probably came in during the reigns of the first German emperors.

Neuertheles aȝens thilk endewing which the seid Damasus Pope spekith in his storie writun to Ierom, and which endewing Damasus berith upon the First Constantyn to be mad to chirchis in Rome and to mynystrie in hem, y wole not replie, neither argue, neither holde and trowe, bi cause that forto ther aȝens holde y haue noon euydence: but certis thilk endewing maad bi Constantyn in vnmouable godis to dyuerse chirchis in Rome, of which endewing s spekith

Yet it is not denied that Constantine may have made the small endowments mentioned by Damasus; but these are quite different to those named in the forged Epistle of Constantine.

[1] *frothens*, MS., and similarly below, p. 366.

CHAP. XIII.

Damasus, was not but litle and mesurable ynouȝ to tho chirchis and the mynystris, and was fer dyuers and othir and myche lasse than the greet endewing which in comoun fame is born upon the Firste Constantyn, and of which spekith the storie of Siluestris gestis and the epistle of which it is bifore spokun in the next chapiter; of which epistle Gracian takith a large porcioun in his *Summe*, Dist. xcvj., chapiter [xiv^{c}.] *Constantinus*. And therfore thilk storie of Siluestris gestis and the seid epistle ben needis vntrewe apocrifis.

Moreover the confirmation by the Greek emperor of the pope's election for some centuries after Silvester's death proves that the pope was not then temporal lord over Rome.

The vij^{c}. principal evidence in to the same purpos is this: Bi manye hundrid ȝeeris after the deeth of Pope Siluester the eleccioun of the pope mad at Rome was sende into Greke lond, where the emperour was oftir [1] and lenger to gidere than at Rome, forto be confermed or admittid of the emperour; as can be proued bi sufficient credible cronicles and stories, and in special forto seie in the cronicle of Martyn, where he spekith of Pope Vitilian.[2] This y seie not for this, that it so doon was weel doon; but herfore y seie it, that it hadde not be so doon, if the emperour of Greek lond hadde not be thanne in tho daies as ful lord and emperour of Rome and of alle cuntrees ligging ther aboute, but the pope had be ful al lord of Rome and of alle the cuntrees ligging aboute, as the seid born an hond endewing pretendith, and as the storie of Siluestris gestis witnessith. Wherfore folewith that no such large endewing was maad bi Constantyn, and folewith that the seid stori of Siluestris gestis and the seid epistle ben vntrewe apocrifis.

---

[1] *aftir*, MS.

[2] "Hic (Vitalianus) nuncios suos direxit ad imperatorem juxta consuetudinem significans de sua ordinatione. Qui nuncii postquam reverenter fuissent recepti, renovatis Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegiis, redierunt." Mart. Polon. *Chron.* A.D. 657.

If eny man wole be aboute forto defende the seid legend or writing of Siluestris gestis bi it what therof Pope Gelasie writith in his epistle, of which epistle a greet part Gracian rehercith in his *Summe*, Dist. xv^e^., chapiter [iii^e^.] *Sancta Romana*, y seie to him a3enward thus: Loke thou bettir upon the processe of Gelasie in the now alleggid place, and thou schalt fynde that he neither approueth, neither reproueth, neither confermeth, neither infermeth[1] the seid writingis of Siluestris gestis, but he makith mensioun of hem, and seith how men doon aboute hem; and thanne leeueth hem, as he fonde hem withoute eny deede of auctorite bisett upon hem.[2] And therfore he dooth no thing there a3ens me. CHAP. XIII. The Acts of Silvester not confirmed by the Decretal Epistle of Gelasius.

The viij^e^. principal euydence into the same purpos is this: In the seid epistle putt to grete Constantyn it is conteyned, that anoon withinne iiij. daies after that Constantyn was baptisid of Siluester Pope, Constantyn schulde seie that he wolde translate his empire fro the empire of Seint Petris successour, and Constantyn seide that therfore he wolde go into the Greek cuntre, and wolde bilde a newe citee for his empire at Bizancium in Greke lond;[3] but this is vntrewe. For her a3ens witnessith and writith *The thre departid storie* in the ij^e^. book the xviij^e^. chapiter, where is plein storie a3ens this. For Constantyn purposid forto haue bildid his citee in an othir place[4] Finally the *Tripartite History* proves the Epistle of Constantine to be spurious by the false account which it gives of the founding of Constantinople.

[1] A later hand needlessly alters into *infirmeth*.

[2] "Item actus B. Silvestri Apostolicæ sedis Præsulis, licet ejus qui conscripsit nomen ignoremus a multis tamen in urbe Roma Catholicis legi cognovimus et pro antiquo usu multæ hoc imitantur ecclesiæ." Decret. Gelas. ap. Grat. *Decret.* l. c. But this production itself, first quoted in the ninth century, is a forgery, from the anvil of Isidore, as it appears. See Cave *Hist. Lit.* s. v. Gelasius.

[3] See Coleti, *Concil.* tom. i. p. 1572.

[4] "Veniens ad campum ante Ilium positum juxta Hellespontum super Ajacis tumulum . . . . . civitatem designavit, portasque fecit quæ hactenus videntur à navigantibus. Hæc agente per noctem Deus apparuit," &c. *Hist. Trip.* lib. ii. c. 18.

CHAP. XIII.

thanne at Bizans, and he biganne in so ferforth that touris weren there seen bi many ȝeeris aftir: but bi warnyng in his sleep he turned his purpos and biganne of the newe his citee at Bizant, which newe citee he clepid sumwhat aftir his own name Constantynopil, and wolde that it schulde be as a newe Rome. And herfore the seid epistle is an vntrewe apocrife, namelich sithen historiers, dwelling in thilk same cuntre and soone after the deede doon, kouthen knowe better the treuthe of the deede than othere men dwelling ferther fro thens in rombe.

The arguments here put briefly will be better understood by an examination into history.

Thus miche is ynouȝ (as here) for answere to the iiij^e. semyng skile, sett bifore in the viij^e. chapiter of this present iij^e. partie. What is seid ouer schortli here for answere to the seid iiij^e. semyng skile mai be seen in more lengthe to be trewe, if the reder of this wole encerche famose stories and cronicles diligentli.[1]

xiiij. CHAPITER.

THE FIFTH ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS AGAINST ENDOWMENTS ANSWERED. The court-steward there named is really not the bishop's or abbot's steward, though often so called in popular language, but the king's, who appoints him judge in causes of life and death, while the bishop or abbot

To the v^e. semyng skile it is to be seid, that thilk stiward, of which it is spoken in the v^e. skile, iugith not in the bischopis name or stide, or in the abbotis name or stide; thouȝ the avauntage and the forfete iustli comyng bi thilk iugement be ȝouun to thilk bischop or to thilk abbot; but the seid [2] stiward iugith in the kingis name and in the kingis stide, which comyttith to thilk stiward power forto sitte and knowe and iuge in thilk cause and mater of deeth. And so the king iugith to deeth and executith into

[1] This paragraph follows the end of the next but one preceding (after the words *aȝens me*) in the MS. Pecock, no doubt, wrote his eighth argument after he had finished the chapter, and forgot to make the necessary transposition.

[2] *seid* is added by a later hand.

deeth, and this stiward vndir the king, and othere officers and executers vndir the stiward; and alle thei doon in the name and in auctorite and power and stide of the king, so comytting to the stiward, and that the stiward comytte ferther to othere. For whiche treuthe now seid the better to be vndirstonde, it is to wite that al iuging into deeth and al executing of thilk iugement cometh fro the king and fro his auctorite and power, and not but from him and bi him; so that it is not leeful that eny man iuge into deeth or slee, but he aloon, or thilk persoon to whom he commyttith. And for as miche as it were ouer cumberose to his persoon and not moost profitable to the comounte, that the king schulde sitte and iuge in ech cause of deeth and in ech other cause of wrong, therfore he committith his power and auctorite to temporal lordis vndir him forto execute it upon certein noumbris of peplis assigned to hem, and ȝeueth power to tho lordis hem for to comytte ferthir to stiwardis vndir hem; and he ȝeueth the avauntagis, (as forfetis, eschetis, and mercimentis, and fynys,) to tho lordis for her labour. But whanne it is so, that the king ȝeueth to a bischop or to an abbot into almes or into sum other good deede therbi to be doon the now seid avauntage, which may come honestli and iustli to the king, he comittith not to the same bischop or abbot power forto sitte and knowe and iuge in the court whos avauntage the king ȝeueth to the bischop or abbot; but the king comyttith the power forto sitte, knowe, and iuge to a stiward which in the kingis name schal sitte and iuge and condempne into deeth and execute the sentence or commytte ferther thilk execucioun to othere vndir him in the kingis name; thouȝ the king graunte and ordeyne that the stiward bringe to the bisschop or abbot al the avauntage of the court, which the same stiward schulde iustli bringe to the king him silf, if the king

CHAP. XIV.

by the king's grant receives the court-fines. Similar instances of the misuse of language quoted.

CHAP. XIV. hadde not ȝeuen it to the bischop or abbot. And so, forto speke in veri trewe propir speche, this stiward is not the bischopis or the abbotis stiward, but he is the kingis stiward; neither this court is the bischopis court, namelich in tho pointis and iugementis to which[1] deeth longith; but it is ther yn the kingis court; thouȝ in comoun speche vnpropirli takun it is woned be seid that thilk stiward is the bischopis stiward or abbotis stiward, and that he holdith the bischopis court or the abbotis court; lijk as it is woned bi vnpropre speche, whanne a parisch chirche is aproprid to an abbey of nunnys, forto seie that the abbas is persoun of thilk chirche, or the conuent or the abbey is persoun of thilk chirch, and the vikir sett in thilk chirche is vikir of the abbas or vikir of the abbey; which speche is no more trewe in propre maner of vndirstonding than were forto seie that the brigge of Londoun were persoun of a parisch chirch, and that the vikir sett in thilk chirch were vikir of the brigge, if alle the fruytis of thilk chirche were assigned and ȝouun into almes forto meyntene and repare[2] the brigge of Londoun, so that a sufficient porcioun of the same fruytis were left to a preest forto bere sufficientli the cure. But verrili and propirli to speke the seid womman or wommen be not persouns and prelatis to men, (for it were aȝens the teching of Poul,) and the vikir sett in thilk chirche is vikir of the bischop or vikir of the persoun which was there bifore the appropriacioun, or of the persoun which schulde be there, if thilk appropriacioun not were: so that he is not the viker of the abbas or abbey, thouȝ the abbas or abbey be mad patroun for to chese him and presente him to the bischop, as it is grauntid to hem that thei mowe chese and presente men to the

[1] *whichich*, MS. | [2] *to repare*, MS. (first hand).

bischop forto be persouns in othere not approprid chirchis, euen as lay men mowe presente. In lijk maner, thouȝ the king graunte that the bischop or abbot haue the labour forto aspie and gete a man which can and wole iustli occupie the office of a stiward in the seid court, namelich in causis of deeth; ȝit what euer man the bischop or abbot so chesith, the king ther with and ther yn committith his power to the same person so chosun, and he ouȝte not but in an vnpropre maner of speche be clepid (namelich in maters of deeth) to be stiward of the bischop or of the abbot, but of the king.

Since the bishop may as lawfully and more easily receive fines, consequent on the death of a criminal, of the steward immediately than of the king immediately, he may justly take such fines. For they are lawful, and the king may dispose of them as he pleases.

And sithen it is so, that as leeful and as honest it is the bischop or the abbot for to receyue the seid avauntage fro the seid stiwardis hondis, as forto abide into tyme the king had receyued it of the stiward, and thanne to receyue it of the kingis hondis, and more ese it is and lasse cost to receyue it of the stiward at next than of the king at next: therfore it is not to be blamed bischopis and abbotis forto holde and haue avauntagis of courtis and of causis [1] strecching into deeth, which the v^e. semyng skile is aboute forto proue be vniust. For as it is iust ynouȝ and honest the king forto receyue suche eschetis and forfetis comyng bi iust deeth of a malefactour, so it is iust and honest ynouȝ bischopis or abbotis to haue the same bi ȝifte to hem mad therof bi the king. And thus miche is ynouȝ for answere to the v^e. semyng skile.

Temporal lords have no reason to be displeased with the endowments of the clergy, for much of the country is in a more civilized state than it would otherwise be.

Now at the laste eende of al this afore going defense mad for the iij^e. principal gouernaunce, that knyȝtis and squyeris, gentil men, and othere louȝer comuneris han no caus forto grucche and be displesid, that the clergie (religiose and not religiose) ben so richeli

[1] *and of causis* is added by a later hand.

CHAP. XIV.

endewid as thei ben, namelich in the rewme of Ynglond, me thinkith this, that y schal now seie, schulde miche[1] move hem. The treuthe is, that the tenementis and alle the possessiouns with her purtenauncis, which the clergie (religiose or not religiose) holden and hauen, is better meintened and susteyned and reparid and kept fro falling into nouȝt and into wildirnes, than if tho same tenementis and possessiouns with her purtenauncis weren in the hondis of grete lordis or of knyȝtis or of squyeris; as experience it[2] wel schewith, namelich in the rewme of Ynglond, for othere rewmes y haue not seen; and also resoun confermeth the same, sithen what is rewlid and carid for of manye to gidere muste be better reulid than it which is reulid and carid fore oonli of oon.

Ecclesiastics are also easier landlords than laymen.

Ferthermore the tenauntis, occupiyng tho tenementis and possessiouns with purtenauncis vndir the clergie, ben esilier tretid, lasse disesid, and not greeued bi extorcioun, as thei schulden be, if thei helden the same tenementis and possessiouns of temporal lordis or of knyȝtis and squyers, as also experience weel schewith.

And they spend their revenues more advantageously for the community.

And thanne ferther the clergie, namelich religiose,[3] beren not into her graues with hem the rentis whiche thei so endewid receyuen of her possessiouns, neither thei spenden therof more than with ese and withoute curiose and coostiose faar gooth into her bodies, and than wher with thei ben poorli ynouȝ clothid and couered for al the labour which thei maken bi nyȝtis and bi daies in preiyng and preising and in keping the wey of her religioun: and the ouerplus being herto and to the costis of her reparaciouns is spend upon worthi gentil men leerned in lawe for mente-

[1] *miche* is interlineated by a later hand.

[2] *it* is interlineated by a later hand.

[3] *the religiose*, MS. (first hand).

naunces of her riȝtis, and upon knyȝtis and squyers and othere louȝer[1] comuneris into her honest chering and weel fare and into nurisching of frendschip and of loue, and miche therof gooth into almes of poor men. Where aȝenward, if all this same receit schulde come into the hondis of grete lordis or of knyȝtis, it schulde not be so weel spend; but it schulde be spend in werre or fiȝting or in reueling, as sopers in nyȝtis at tauernes, and in costiose horsis, and in wantowne and nyse disgisingis of araies, (and so forth of manye othere staryng[2] gouernauncis, semyng summe wijlde woode,) as othere men therto taking heed mowen weel ynouȝ aspie. Wherfore ech weel avisid man, considering bi lenger consideracioun what is now here in this schort rehercel spokun, schulde and ouȝte bi resoun take riȝt weel aworth and be plesid, (whether he be knyȝt, squyer, gentilman, ȝoman, or louȝer,) that the clergie (bothe religiose and othere not religiose) reioice her seid endewing vnmouable, rather than the seid endewing were had in the lay mennys hondis, and bi proces of tyme schulde come into the hondis of temporal lordis. And here yn y eende the proof of the ij^{e}. principal conclusioun of this present iij^{e}. partie.

THE THIRD CONCLUSION IN DEFENCE OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THE CLERGY. Church-endowments are lawful. Whatever is not forbidden by Scripture, reason, or human enactment is lawful; but none of these forbid the clergy to possess lands: therefore it is lawful for the clergy to possess them.

The iij^{e}. principal conclusioun of this present iij^{e}. partie is this: The iij^{e}. principal gouernaunce sett in the first chapiter of this present iij^{e}. partie is leeful. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: Ech persoonis gouernaunce, which Holi Scripture forbedith not, doom of resoun forbedith not, mannis lawe forbedith not, is leeful and not worthi be vndirnome and blamed. But so it is, that neither Holi Scripture, neither doom of resoun, neither mannis lawe forbedith preestis of the Newe Testament forto haue in her propre lordschip and in comoun lordschip to gidere with

[1] *louȝe*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *staryng* is added by a later hand.

CHAP. XIV.

othere persoones [of] housis and feeldis, namelich vttirli so ferforth that neither lasse neither more preestis haue eny such lordschip. Wherfore folewith, that preestis to[1] haue lordschip of housis and feeldis, namelich in sum mesure and quantite, is leeful ynouȝ.

The first premiss of this syllogism is self-evident; the second has been already proved: therefore the conclusion is true.

The firste premysse or membre of this argument muste nedis be grauntid. Forwhi ech gouernaunce is leeful which is not forbode, sithen ech yuel gouernaunce is forbode, and no forbode is mad saue bi lawe of Scripture, lawe of kinde, (which is doom of resoun,) and lawe of man: and therfore ech gouernaunce of eny men, which is not forbodun bi Holi Scripture, or bi doom of resoun, or bi mannis lawe is needisli leeful. The ij^{e}. premisse of this same argument is sufficientli proued to be trewe bi the hool processe bigunne bifore in this iij. partie soone aftir the bigynnyng of the first chapiter, and streiȝt along hidir to. Wherfore the conclusioun of this argument muste needis be trewe.

Explanation of certain terms and truths of logic, when an argument is formal and expressed fully.

Forwhi the kinde of euery good argument of ij. premissis or ij. proposiciouns dryuyng out from hem and concluding fro hem the iij^{e}. proposicioun, is this; that if euereither of the ij. premissis ben trewe, the iij^{e}. proposicioun concludid bi hem and out of hem muste needis be trewe. Ensaumplis herof ben these. For that this argument is good and formal: "Ech man is "now at the chirche; mi fader is a man; eke thanne "mi fader is now at the chirche:"—therfore if the first premysse or proposicioun of this argument be trewe, which is this, that "ech man is now at the chirche," and if therwith also the ij^{e}. premysse be trewe, that "mi fadir is a man," sotheli needis cost, who wole or wole[2] not, the conclusioun of the same argument

[1] *to* is interlineated in a later hand.

[2] *who wole*, MS. (first hand).

muste needis be trewe, which is this, "my fader is "now at the chirche." And in lijk maner it is of euery formal argument mad of ij. proposiciouns or ij. resouns concluding out of hem the iij^e. proposicioun or resoun,[1] as thus: "Ech man is a synner; y am a man; "eke thanne y am a synner:" "No man is without a "bodi; the king is a man; eke thanne the king is not "without a bodi;" and so forth lijk it is in alle wel and formali[2] mad argumentis mad of ij. proposiciouns concluding and driving out of hem the iij^e.[3] And ferthermore it is to wite, that in ech such now seid argument the ij. proposiciouns or spechis or resouns, so as is now seid concluding and dryving out of hem the iij^e. proposicion, speche, or resoun, ben clepid ij. premissis, or the firste and ij^e. premysse of the argument; and the iij^e. proposicioun, speche, or resoun driuen out and concludid forth bi hem and fro hem is clepid the conclusioun of the argument. CHAP. XIV.

And ferther, euen as whanne a formali mad argument is mad of ij. premyssis concluding a conclusioun, if bothe premyssis ben trewe, the conclusioun needis is trewe; so whanne an argument is mad schortli, so that the oon premisse is expressid in which the gretter strengthe of the argument lithe, and the other premysse is stille vnspokun for schortnes; ȝit, if thilk oon premysse expressid be trewe, needis muste the conclusioun be trewe. Forwhi out of a treuthe folewith not a falshede, but out of treuthe folewith neuer eny thing saue treuthe; for ellis ther were no wey to proue bi it eny thing be trewe, if a falshede myȝte be concludid in a formal argument fro a treuthe, as weel as And when it is expressed shortly

[1] *resoun* is interlineated in a later hand.

[2] *formal*, MS.

[3] This sentence runs very clumsily. Perhaps we should place a full stop after *so forth*, and cancel all the rest of the sentence, which is a mere repetition of what has just preceded.

CHAP. XIV.

a treuthe may be concludid in a formal argument fro a treuthe. And therfore sithen this schort argument is formal: "Robyn rode without stiropis, eke thanne his "legge lollid," it muste nedis be that, if the premysse be trewe, that the conclusioun be trewe. And for that this argument is formal: "This thing is miche bri3te "and ful white, eke thanne he mai be seen;" ther fore if the premysse be trewe, the conclusioun is ther with trewe. And for that this argument is formal: "Noman lackith a bodi, eke thanne noman is without "a place long and brood:" ther fore if the premysse be grantid of eny man, he ou3te nedis graunte the conclusioun.

The three conclusions now proved would be a sufficient vindication of church-endowments: yet for the more satisfaction of the reader three more shall be added.

Certis thou3 no more were for to[1] iustifie the iij^e. seid principal gouernaunce than the profis of the thre next bifore going principal conclusiouns fro the bigynnyng of this present iij^e. parti hidir to, thei were sufficient forto iustifie the same seid iij^e. principal gouernaunce. Forwhi what schulde lette eny gouernance to be doon, if neither Holi Scripture, neither doom of cleer resoun, neither mennys lawis letten it to be don? Neuerthelatir sumwhat more into the[2] iustifying of the same iij^e. principal gouernaunce schal be set therto bi the iij.[3] next conclusiouns now aftir comying.

XV. CHAPITER.

THE FOURTH CONCLUSION. Scripture allows church-endowments, and that in plenty. For it well allows every

THE iiij^e. principal conclusioun of this present iij^e. partie is this: Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament allowith[4] the iij^e. ofte seid principal gouernaunce, that is to seie, preestis forto haue vnmouable posses-

[1] *to* is interlineated in a later (?) hand.

[2] *the* is interlineated in a later hand.

[3] Pecock has in fact added *five*.

[4] *allowith and approueth*, MS. (first hand).

siouns and that in greete plente. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: What euer deede eny Apostle or his writing allowith to be in a preestis moral conuersacioun, thilk same deede is not aȝens resoun to be in the same preestis moral conuersacioun; for ellis the Apostle and his writing schulde reule aȝens resoun, which is not to be grauntid. But so it is, that this deede, a preest and ech other Cristen man forto frely receyue, take, and vce alle maners of metis and alle maners of drinkis into his sufficience with thankingis to God Holi Writt weel allowith, as it is open i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃., and of the ouer plus make doole to othere hauying therto nede, as it is writun [Luk xj^e. c̃.]:[1] *The ouer plus ȝeue ȝe into almes.*

CHAP. XV.

priest to enjoy richly every creature of God, and to give alms of his abundance.

Also this deede, a preest forto freli take and chese of alle maidens to him a wijf, so that he wedde not of the newe eftsoone, if his first wijf die him lyuyng, and forto bigete children, and forto haue meyne and holde house, and forto nurische and bringe up hise children, and forto reule his wijf, meyne, and children, and forto purveie for hem was allowid of Poul, and bi lijk skile of the othere Apostlis, as is open of Poul bi what is writun i^e. Cor. vij^e. c̃. in the bigynnyng, where he spekith generali to alle Cristen persoones of Corinthi, and therfore to preestis as to other, i^e. Thim. iij^e. c̃. and Tite i^e. c̃., in the vnderstonding which therupon was had in Poulis daies and fro[2] Poulis daies into this dai thoruȝ al Grece, as the deede proueth weel; and also in the vndirstonding which the West Chirche hadde and took upon the same wordis fro the daies of Petir and Poul into the daies of Austyn, as the deedis of preestis in the West Chirche into the

Scripture allows moreover, the marriage of the clergy, as the Eastern Church also now does and the ancient Western Church did.

[1] A space left in the MS. for the reference. Wiclif's (later) version of Luke xi. 41, substantially agrees: *Netheles that that is ouer plus ȝyue ȝe almes.*

[2] This and the three preceding words are added in a later hand.

CHAP. XV.

daies of Austyn beren mensioun,[1] with *The threfold stori*[2] speking of the counseil of Nice, and with it that the seid Austin spekith of preestis weddid in hise daies;[3] thouȝ it be trewe with al this that Poul, i^c^. Thim. v^e^. c̃., counseilid to Thimothe, that he schulde kepe him silf chaast.

Scripture likewise allows a bishop to have so much of *moveable* possessions as will support both himself and others. The cases of Timothy and Paul considered.

Also this deede, a preest forto haue in possessioun movable godis how miche euer he mai honestli and riȝtli come to, (so that he be not gleymed with ouer myche loue to it,) and forto therof take ynouȝ, and of the ouer plus make disposicioun into almes is allowid bi Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament. Forwhi how ellis schulde Bischop Thimothie haue performed what Poul wolde him to performe i^c^. Thim. v^e^. c̃., that Thimothie schulde worschipe, (that is to seie, finde and nurische,) tho wommen of lx^ti^. winter age, whiche aftir hir husbondis deethis wolden for deuocioun lyue chaast? And sithen Poul and his felawschip and disciplis being conuersaunt with him lyueden bi the ȝiftis and sondis, which dyuerse chirchis ȝauen and senden to him where that he were, as he witnessith him silf in hise epistlis, except that in summe cuntrees (as in Achaia) he forbare forto so receyue, that he wolde therbi confounde tho prechers, whiche weren glad forto into coueitouse maner receiue;—how ellis miȝte this be vsid of dyuerse chirchis and comountees forto sende to Poul, and that Poul schulde receyue the sondis of hem, but if it hadde be so ful ofte that tho chirchis and comountees senden ful ofte, and Poul

---

[1] The truth of this assertion appears very evidently from a contemporary of Augustine: "Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia." S. Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* lib. i. c. 23. (tom. ii. p. 273. Ed. Vall.)

[2] See *Hist. Tripart.* lib. ii. c. xiv. for an account of the proceedings of Paphnutius in that council.

[3] See *Cod. Eccl. Afric.* can. xxv., where Augustine mentions the "uxores" of bishops, priests, and deacons. It is hard to say what particular passage Pecock may have referred to.

receyued bi her sondis ful ofte more than was necessarie to him and to hise felaschip and hise disciplis, so that thei hadden ful ofte so miche of movable godis, that thei hadden cause forto ther with do almes to poor and nedy persoones? Wherfore alle these iij. kindis of deedis ben allowid[1] of Holi Scripture, ȝhe, and ben resonable and not aȝens resoun to be in preestis moral gouernaunce.

Corollary from these facts. The only argument against the *unmoveable* possessions of the clergy arises from the danger of care and worldliness coming by them. But this danger is greater when the clergy have wives and *moveable, i.e.*, insecure goods; both which are allowed by Scripture: consequently, *à fortiori*, Scripture allows unmovable possessions to an unmarried clergy.

And thanne ferther thus: Al the cause assignable whi it schulde be aȝens Scripture or aȝens resoun a preest forto haue eny vnmovable godis, if it were aȝens Scripture or resoun, is this: That bi the hauyng of thilk godis he schulde be maad ouer thouȝtful and ouer carkful and ouermyche louyng toward hem, and ther bi he schulde be mad ouer myche necligent forto attende to goostli thingis, and forto loue God and goostli thingis. And noon other cause is therfore assignable saue this. But so it is, that this cause, (that is to seie, this seid thouȝt, this seid cark, and caring, and attendaunce,) is miche more in a man for that that he hath wijf[2] and children and household needis ȝeerli and daili to be costioseli founde, and for that he hath not but mouable godis oonli without the suerte of contynuaunce, (which suerte myȝte be had bi vnmouable godis, if thei weren had,) than thilk cark is in a man which hath vnmouable godis in so greet plente, that he mai avorthi to haue discrete officers at fulle vndir him, and that he mai avorthi forto lese ynouȝ and haue ynouȝ, rather than for to be ouer bisi and ouer thouȝtful forto kepe and saue al, and therwith is chaast, and lackith wijf and children, and al the gleyme, loue, and delectacions whiche violentli comen anentis his wijf and hise children. Wherfore if it be with the alleggid Scripture or resoun, that a

[1] *approued and allowid*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *a wijf*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. XV.

preest mai haue a wijf, children, and household without vnmouable possessioun, miche rather it is with the same now alleggid Scripture and resoun, that a preest mai haue vnmovable possessiouns in greet plente (and rather in greet plente than in scant sufficience), with chastite, and so withoute wijf and children, and folewingli withoute the greet cark falling to him for hem.

This conclusion may also be proved by a process similar to that by which another conclusion has been already proved.

Also this present iiij^e. conclusion mai be proued bi a processe of iij. supposiciouns, and of an argument formed vpon hem toward the eende of the first parti in this present book;[1] and for as miche as it is not fer fro this present place, therfore y wole not thilk processe here aȝen of the newe reherce.

THE FIFTH CONCLUSION. Reason sanctions the endowment of the clergy. The same arguments apply here that apply to the fourth conclusion.

The v^e. principal conclusioun in this iij^e. principal parti is this: Doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde allowith and approueth the iij^e. principal gouernaunce sett in the bigynnyng of this present iij^e. partie. That this conclusioun is trewe mai be proued bi alle tho same argumentis bi which the next iiij^e. principal conclusioun is proued. For thouȝ tho argumentis goon upon the witnessing of Holi Scripture, ȝit in al it Holi Scripture dooth not ellis than witnesse what doom of resoun iugith in allowing and approuyng; and therfore alle tho same seid[2] argumentis seruen lijk weel for proof of the iiij^e. conclusioun and for proof of the v^e. conclusioun.

THE SIXTH CONCLUSION. Church-endowments are in the strictest sense lawful. Whatever Scripture and reason approve is in the strictest sense lawful, and it has been proved that they both approve of

The vj^e. conclusioun is this: The seid iij^e. principal gouernaunce is leeful in proprist maner of leefulnes. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: Ech gouernaunce, which Holi Scripture or doom of cleer reson allowith and approueth, is leeful in proprist maner of leefulnes. But so it is, that Holi Scripture and also doom of cleer resoun allowen and approuen

[1] See Part I. c. xix.

[2] *seid* is added in the margin by a later hand.

church-endowments.

the iij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce. Wherfore folewith needis, that the seid iij^{e}. principal gouernaunce is in proprist maner leeful.

THE SEVENTH CONCLUSION. Church-endowments are an ordinance of God's law. For it has been shown that they are lawful and approved by Scripture and reason, *i.e.*, that they are an ordinance of God's law.

The vij^{e}. conclusioun is this: The iij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce is a gouernannce of Goddis lawe. This conclusioun schal be proued thus: Ech gouernance, which is leeful and allowid and approued bi Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament and bi doom of cleer resoun, is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe and of the Newe Testament, as it is vndoutabili proued in manye placis of my writingis, namelich in *The iust apprising of Holi Scripture*. But so it is, that the iij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce is leeful bi the next bifore going iij^{e}. principal conclusioun, and he is allowid and approued by Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament and bi doom of cleer resoun, as prouen weel the next bifore going iiij^{e}. and v^{e}. principal conclusiouns. Wherfore thilk iij^{e}. gouernaunce is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe and of the Newe Testament.

THE EIGHTH CONCLUSION. It is not a sin to set an example to others of retaining church-endowments. This conclusion proved by a similar process.

The viij^{e}. principal conclusioun is this: It is not synne a man forto ensaumple bi deede to othere men the iij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: It is not synne a man forto ensaumple bi his deede to othere men[1] a deede and a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe and of the Newe Testament. But so it is, that the iij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe and of the Newe Testament, as proueth weel the next bifore going vj^{e}. principal conclusioun. Wherfore it is not synne a man forto ensaumple bi his deede to othere men the iij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce.

---

[1] *to othere men* is added by a later hand in the margin, after which a different hand (exceedingly similar to that of the original scribe, if not identical with it,) has written *a deede*; the whole being marked with a red line, probably by the same hand that illuminated the MS. This tends to show that the corrections of the MS. are (in part at least) scarcely later than the original text.

xvj. Chapiter.

Some men hold that church-endowments are lawful, but that if the clergy use them viciously, they may be dispossessed of them, they still remaining in their offices.

For as myche as fro the bigynnyng of this present iij^e^. partie hidir to it is procedid that sufficient proof is mad this to be trewe, that preestis and othere clerkis mowen be endewid with temporal vnmouable possessiouns without eny ther of wernyng founde in Holi Scripture or in resoun, ȝhe, and with therto consenting Scripture and resoun; and so weel and so firmeli and stabili and openli it is proued and so weel to the euydencis of the contrarie partie it is answerid, and so cleerli the euydencis ben assoilid, that noman al the bifore going processe reding and vndirstonding may opene his mouth forto holde the errour, which bifore in the bigynnyng of the firste chapiter in this present iij^e^. partie is rehercid, and is bi al the bifore going processe hidir to vnaȝenseiabili vnproued and theryn worthili reproued;—therfore summen perceyuyng al this consenten weel and graunten, that preestis and othere clerkis mowen weel withoute weernyng of Holi Scripture and of resoun, ȝhe, and bi Scripture and bi resoun, be endewid with temporal and vnmouable godis forto do and vse and execute the better her goostli officis; but thei holden herwith this conclusioun, that if bischopis or other preestis or othere louȝer clerkis so endewid lyuen not vertuoseli, as thei schulden lyue, with thilk seid temporal godis, but amys vsen tho godis[1] vicioseli, tho same godis mowen iustli be take awey fro hem, so that preestis and othere clerkis mowen iustli be vnpossessyd, (that is to seie, mowen iustli be putt out of possessioun of the same godis,) with this that thei abide stille in her statis and officis of bischophode or louȝer preesthode or louȝer clerkhode, in which thei weren bifore,

[1] *tho temporal godis*, MS. (first hand).

whanne thei weren in possessioun of tho same vnmovable possessiouns.

They also hold, that if the clergy do not duly perform their duties, their tithes, &c. may justly be withdrawn by their people.

And ferthermore thei holden this ij^e. conclusioun, that if eny bischop, preest, or clerk do not dewli the werkis of his office anentis his peple ouer whom he is sett and putt, the same peple mowe iustli withdrawe[1] and a3enholde the tithis and offringis and alle othere paymentis of rentis and dewtees, with whiche the same seid bischopis, preestis, and othere lou3er clerkis ben for hem and her successouris endewid.

These opinions shall be examined, and tested by the application of eleven manifest truths.

Wherfore it is now next to be encerchid whether this holding be trewe or not trewe. Into which eende, entent, and purpos y schal here sett forth xj. open trouthis, bi whiche it schal be knowe sureli, whethir the now rehercid conclusions and opinions ben trewe or no.

THE FIRST TRUTH. No one should be judge in his own cause, unless he be the highest judge. Proof of this truth from Scripture and experience in regard both to laity and clergy.

The firste trouthe is this: Noman ou3te be iuge in his owne cause which he hath anentis his nei3bour, neither eny man ou3te be redresser of the wrong which his nei3bour dooth to him, but if he him silf be the hi3est iuge of alle othere, and hath no iuge in erthe aboue him, bi whom his cause or wrong mai be iugid and redressid. Forwhi, if eny man or if many men schulden be iugis in her owne causis had bitwixe hem and othere men, God wolde not haue ordeyned in the temporal parti kingis and princis and dukis and othere powers vndir hem to be for to heere and iuge causis and redresse wrongis, of whom Poul spekith, Rom. xiij^e. c̃., and i^e. Cor. vj^e. c̃., and i^e. Thim. ij^e.[2] c̃., and Peter spekith, i^e. Pet. ij^e. c̃. Neither God wolde haue ordeyned in the clergie to be bischopis aboue the lou3er preestis, and archebischopis aboue bischopis, and the pope to be aboue alle the othere, as it is proued aftir in the iiij^e. parti of this

[1] *w^t drawe*, MS. (without hyphen). | [2] *i^e.*, MS.

CHAP. XVI.

book that God so ordeyned, or at the leest he wolde it so be ordeyned, and as it is proued that in the tyme of the Apostlis it was so sett forth in vce and executing. Forwhi if eny man schulde haue had power forto be iuge in his owne cause anentis his neiȝbour, it hadde be waast forto haue mad bothe in the clergie and in the layfe suche now seid iugis; and alle men witen weel that neither God neither the Apostlis wolden ordeyne eny waast ordinaunce, or consente to eny waast ordinaunce bi othere to be mad. Also surist experience schewith bi this that bifallith weel nyȝ in ech day bifore iugis bitwixe parties pleding, how myche and how manye and grete innumerable wrongis schulden be doon, holden, and menteyned for riȝtis and vnwrongingis, and how many therbi folewingli perpetual strifis and debatis and fiȝtingis and othere passing grete myschefis schulden be multiplied, if men schulden be iugis in her owne causis and querelis, whiche fallen bitwixe hem and her neiȝboris. And therfore thei ouȝten not so be in eny wise. And so for a ful greet good and nede God willid to be ordeyned bothe in the clergijs side and in the lay parties side iugis louȝer and hiȝer up into the hiȝest, that if the louȝer iuge procede not riȝtli, that the parti iugid amys of him mai compleyne to the hiȝer iuge; and so eftsoone fro the hiȝer, if nede be, into tyme to come to the hiȝest; and if he there at the presence of the hiȝest iuge suffre wrong, take he it aworth in pacience as a thing irremediable bi man, and God schal therfore him quyte.

THE SECOND TRUTH. Two kinds of payment are customary among men: some are made in order to assist a man to discharge an office, which he has taken on himself, as travelling expenses are paid

The ij^e. trouthe is this: Among temporal godis, whiche men ben woned for to paie to othere men, summe ben to be paied as fynding or helping to the receyuers, that the receyuers, foundun and holpun bi the temporal godis of hem receyued, do and wirche and execute summe certein officis or summe certein deedis, to come into whiche thei ben sett and ordeyned,

and whiche thei han take vpon hem forto do, wirche, and execute; as it is whanne money is take and paied to a messanger forto ride or go into a fer cuntre, that he fynde to him silf and his hors the costis and expensis whiche he muste make in thilk iorney, and withoute which money he mai not make thilk iorney weel, or ellis withoute which so to be bifore paied he schal make his iorney the wors; and as it is whanne money is paied to a man forto go and fynde him silf and his hors, that he be an hayward or an ouerseer thoruȝ al an haruest cesoun vpon repe men, that thei repe bisili and clenli. And summe othere temporal godis ben to be paied as meede and reward to the receyuers for the doing, wirching, or executing passid of sum office or deede, in to which thei weren sett and ordeyned, and which thei token vpon hem for to do, wirche, and execute; as it is whanne money is paied to the bifore seid messanger for his traueil, which he made in the same seid iorney; and as it is whanne money is paied to a repe man for his dai labour in the haruest feeld, or to a laborer in a vyne gardein for his day labour in the same vyne gardein. This trouthe is so open that he nedith not be proued.

to an agent; some are given by way of remuneration, as when the same agent is paid for his trouble as agent.

The iij$^{\text{é}}$. trouthe is this: Mouable and vnmouable temporal godis mowen be ȝouun not oonli to oon persoon in the firste maner of the ij$^{\text{e}}$. trouthe, and forto not descende ferther bi the same ȝeuyng into the successouris of the same persoon; but also mouable and vnmouable temporal godis nowen be ȝouun in the first maner of the ij$^{\text{e}}$. trouthe to a man and to hise successouris perpetueli, that not oonli he but that he and alle his successouris be foundun and holpun therbi forto do, wirche, and execute sum office or deede, as withoute which thei myȝten not do, wirche, or execute the same dede, or at the leest not so weel do, wirche, or execute the same deede. This treuthe

THE THIRD TRUTH. Payments of the first kind may be instituted so as to terminate with the first person thereby assisted, or they may be continued to his successors for ever. Against either of these methods of payment no sort of just objection can be made.

is also so open that he nedith no proof, but if it be this: Ech gouernaunce is doable ynouȝ aȝens which is no lett founde, neither bi resoun, neither bi Holi Scripture, neither bi eny other allowable wey.

THE FOURTH TRUTH. Payments of the second kind may be withheld, when the work for which they are made is not performed.

The iiij^e. trouthe is this: Whanne money or other temporal good mouable or vnmovable is to be paied in the ij^e. maner of the ij^e. trouthe, it may iustli be restreyned and aȝen holde fro paiyng, in caas that the deede be not do for whos performyng the same money is to be paied and ȝouun. Forwhi thilk monei is to be paied as reward and meede to the receyuer for the doing or laboring aboute the same deede, and a reward or meede folewith aftir the deede for which he is reward or meede.

THE FIFTH TRUTH. Payments of the first kind, made to any one man and terminating with him, may not be withheld, though the work which they were designed to aid be not done. For the payment must go before the work, and if the receiver admit his obligation to perform it, he cannot justly be dispossessed of the payment, even though it be morally certain that he never will perform it. The contrary doctrine would give occasion to withhold all such payments, and would introduce evils and wrongs innumerable.

The v^e. trouthe is this: Whanne eny such temporal good movable or vnmouable is ȝouun in the first maner of the ij^e. trouthe to eny oon persoon and not to hise successouris, and is to be paied in the same first maner to the same oon persoon as bi vertu and strengthe of the same now seid ȝeuyng maad in the first maner of the ij^e. trouthe, thilk good mai not iustli be restreyned and be aȝen holde fro payment to the same persoon, thouȝ the deede schal not be doon and performed into which deede to be doon the same good was to the same persoon so in the first maner of the ij^e. trouthe ȝouun; namelich if it be not vttirli certein that the receyuer schal not performe the same seid deede. Forwhi the ȝifte of the good to the receyuer gooth bifore the deede, into which deede the receyuer is therbi bounde; and in lijk maner the payment of the same good to the receyuer ouȝte go bifore the same seid deede therbi to be doon, bi as myche as thilk payment is the fynding and the helping in expensis and in othere necessaries geting to the receyuer into the same deede therbi folewingli to be doon or the better to be doon. And therfore, if the receyuer wole knouleche that he wole and schal per-

forme the deede into which he is thus bounde bi the ȝifte bifore maad and the paiement to be paied bifore to him as into his fynding into the same seid deede, thouȝ it be knowe that the receyuer schal not performe the deede, ther is no iust wey forto therfore withdrawe and withholde thilk payment fro him. Also open ynowȝ it is, that for[1] the vndoing of a deede, which in dew ordre and processe ouȝte folewe a payment and be doon bi vertu and strengthe of the same payment, mai not be a cause wherbi the same payment schulde not be paied but be restreyned fro payment; namelich if he, to whom it schulde be paied, wole not knouleche that he wole leue the same deede vndoon. Forwhi ellis colour myȝte be take forto lette and restreyne and wronge euery payment in the world which is to be doon in the first maner of the ij^e. trouthe, or in caas of the ij^e. parti of the vij^e. trouthe after folewing. Forwhi ech paier myȝte bere an hond to the receyuer, that the receyuer wolde not performe iustly the deede into which the payment schulde serue. And so her of and herbi schulden innumerable grete debatis and strijfis, wrongis, and myschefis rise and continue. Wherfore this v^e. trouthe is to be holde as firme[2] and stable.

THE SIXTH TRUTH. When payments of the first kind are made to any man and to his successors, still less can they be withheld from him for not discharging his duties, if he continue in office. For in that case not only he, but they also, would be put out of right and possession, except the gift were renewed.

The vj^e. trouthe is this: If mouable or vnmouable godis ȝouun and dew to be paied to eny oon persoon withoute successouris in the first maner of the ij^e. trouthe, (that is to seie, bifore the deede into which he is bounde bi strengthe of the bifore mad to him ȝift and payment,) mai not iustli be take fro and be aȝenholde fro the seid man, thouȝ the seid deede be of him left vndoon, (as it is now bifore schewid in the v^e. trouthe,) miche rather this is trewe,—whanne movable or vnmovable godis ben ȝouun and dew to be paied

[1] Perhaps *for* should be cancelled. | [2] *as for firme*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. XVI.

to a persoon and to hise successouris perpetuali, that ech of hem therbi and ther with performe a certein assignable deede,—that, thouȝ this man which now lyueth performe not the deede for his while, this movable good, (as cuppe or chalice, mytir, bacul,) or vnmovable good, (as hous, feeld, wode,) mai not iustli be takun fro him and hise successouris. Forwhi not oonli he him silf mai it lette bi the reclaime now in the v^e. trouthe sett which he mai make for him silf, but also he mai it lette bi lijk reclayme which he mai and ouȝte make for hise successouris and in the name and stide of alle and of ech of hise successouris. Also sithen hise successouris ben not ȝit founde in wijte or defaute, wrong were doon to hem if this good schulde be take so awey fro this man that therwith to gidere and at oonis it were take awey from hem. But so it is, that this man mai not oonis or at eny tyme be putt out of riȝt and of possessioun of thilk seid mouable or vnmouable good, him abiding in the same dignite, state, or office, but that bothe he and alle hise successouris ben theryn, therwith, and therbi excludid for euer, in lasse thanne the same good be ȝouun aȝen to hem of the newe. Wherfore this man mai not iustli be vnriȝtid and vnpossessid, that is to seie, be putt out of riȝt and out of possessioun of the seid mouable or vnmouable good; thouȝ he not performe the dede into which thilk good is[1] so ȝouun, and so to be paied is an helping meene or a fynding.

[1] Probably *is* should be cancelled.

xvij. Chapitre.

THE vij^{e}. trouthe is this: Alle bischopis and othere preestis and louȝer clerkis endewid for hem and her successouris bi mouable godis, (as chalicis, vestimentis, bokis,) and bi vnmouable godis, (as housis, feeldis, and free rentis going out of feeldis or of housis) and bi riȝtis to aske and haue tithis and offringis, grauntid and ȝouun to hem and to her successouris, stonden not in caas of the ij^{e}. partie of the ij^{e}. trouthe; but thei stonden in caas of the first parti of the ij^{e}. trouthe, and in caas of the vj^{e}. trouthe. Forwhi the blisse of heuen and the thank of God and his rewarding is al that is to be abide aftir and to be awaitid after in wey of reward and meede of ech bischop, preest, and clerk for ech werk and deede of his dignite, ordre, or office doing and executing; and ther fore no good mouable or vnmouable is ȝouun or paied to hem as for reward and meede of her officis doing and performyng. In knouleching of which thing, whanne a persoon is mad first clerk and takith his firste corown for to be therbi oon of the clergie, he seith and protestith openli thus: "The Lord is the "part of myn heritage and of my labour and traueil "into which y entre. Thou, Lord, art he which schalt "ȝelde myn heritage to me,"[1] that is to seie, as for reward of my labour into which y now entre; and so the first party of this vij^{e}. trouthe is sufficientli opened for trewe. The ij^{e}. party of this vij^{e}. trouthe is witnessid bi Poul i^{e}. Cor. ix^{e}. c̃. bi long processe and

THE SEVENTH TRUTH. Payments made to the clergy are of the first kind; for their proper reward is to be looked for in heaven.

[1] "*Modus faciendi tonsuras vel coronas primas et ordinandi clericos genuflectentes coram episcopo hoc modo.* Sit nomen Domini benedictum, &c." (Then follows a prayer and a psalm). "*Hic quilibet ordinandus per se dicat:* Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ et calicis mei: tu es, qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi." Maskell's *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglic.*, vol. 3. pp. 147–149.

CHAP. XVII.

bi an ensaumple of oxen threisching or treding out corn of the strawe and chaaf in a floor, and bi Poul i^e. Thim. v^e. c̃.

Two texts considered, which seem to make for the contrary opinion, and to speak of the payment of the clergy as the reward of their labour. *Reward* is taken in Scripture sometimes strictly, sometimes not.

Neuertheles thouȝ this present vij^e. trouthe muste needis be holden[1] for open resoun which myȝte be brouȝt therto and for textis of Scripture, (summe now bifore alleggid, and summe after soone in this present chapiter to be rehercid,) ȝit it myȝte seme that aȝens this present vij^e. trouthe Crist him silf spekith and meeneth, Luk x^e. c̃., where he seide to hise disciplis thus: *Go ȝe: lo, y sende ȝou as lambren among wolues; therfore nile ȝe bere a sachel neither scrippe neither schoon, and grete ȝe no man bi the wey. Into what hous that ȝe entren, first seie ȝe, Pees to this hous; and if a sone of pees be there, ȝoure pees schal reste on him; but if noon, it schal turne aȝen to ȝou: and dwelle ȝe in the same hous, eting and drinking tho thingis whiche ben at hem; for a werkman*[2] *is worthi his hire.* Lo hou in these wordis, "a werkman is worthi his meede," Crist clepid it which prechouris and prelatis schulde take into her fynding to be meede or reward of her preching, which is a deede of cure doing. And in lijk maner, i^e. Thim. v^e. c̃., bi like and the same wordis Poul clepith the fynding of prechouris her mede or reward. Wherfore it wolde seme that the ij^e. partie of this present vij^e. trouthe is not to be holde as for trewe; but it wolde seme that the ȝifte of temporal godis mad to preestis is in the ij^e. parti of the firste trouthe sett bifore in the xvj^e. chapiter; and therfore tho temporal godis mowen be withdrawe, if preestis performe not sufficientli the deedis of her cure. But ȝit notwithstonding these ij. now laste rehercid textis, (oon of Crist, Luk x^e. c̃.,

[1] *beholden*, MS.

[2] Perhaps *werk man*, MS. (here and below), but ?

and the other of Poul, i^e. Thim. v^e. c̃.,) the vij^e. trouthe is to be holde thoruȝ hise bothe bifore seid parties. And for dew vnderstonding of Crist and of Poul in the ij^e. now laste rehercid textis it is to wite that this word *meede* or *reward* mai be take propirli in his dewist and verriest maner of significacioun and bitokenyng, and he may be take vnpropirly out of his dewist and veriest maner of signifiyng and bitokenyng, as ful manye othere wordis in Holi Scripture, and eke out of Holi Scripture, ben woned to be take. CHAP. XVII.

Thanne ferther, if this word *meede* or *reward* be take in his dewist and propir maner of signifiyng, certis he bitokeneth a thing which is to be ȝouun or paid for a werk bifore doon, and is thanne first dew to be ȝouun or paied whanne the werk is doon and eendid, for which the same thing is to be ȝouun or paied, and in this maner Holi Scripture spekith of meede, Math. xx^e. c̃., where the lord of the vyner in the eende of the day and of the werk doon in his vyner, seide to his procutour thus, *Clepe thou the werkmen, and ȝeelde to hem her meede, et cætera;* not withstonding that perauenture bifore in the dai thei hadden her sufficient fynding, as in mete and drinke, forto so wirche into the eende of the day. And also in this maner God spake of meede and reward to Abraham, Gen. xv^e. c̃., thus: *I am thi defender and thi meede or reward, which is hugeli greet:* Also in this maner it is writun, Sapience, v^e. c̃.: *Forsothe riȝtful men schulen lyue for euer and her meede or reward*[1] *is at the Lord.* Also, Apocalips xxij^e. c̃., God seith thus: *Lo y come soone, and my reward or meede is with me forto ȝelde to ech after hise werkis, et cætera.* Certis in these iiij. now bifore going textis and in manye mo than othere xl. conteyned in Holi Scripture, *Reward* properly means so much pay for so much work.

[1] *rewaward,* MS.

CHAP. XVII.

(as a man mai se bi *The Concordaunce*[1] in this word *merces* in Latyn, *meede* in Englisch,) this word *meede* is take forto signifie and bitokene a thing ȝouun in the maner and for cause now seid; and this maner taking this word *meede* is his[2] propre and dew maner of taking, as al experience and famose vce according with so manye placis of Holi Scripture wolen conferme the same.

Sometimes it signifies *maintenance*, or payment of the first kind.

In an other maner this word *meede* or *reward* is takun vnpropirli and out of his dewist signifiying and bitokenyng; and this word *meede* or *reward* thus takun signifieth al oon with this word *fynding*, forto speke of such fynding as is mynystring of costis and expensis and othere necessarie or profitable thingis into that a certeyn deede be doon and executid. And sotheli in this vnpropre maner of taking *reward* or *meede* it is not spokun, as y weene, in al Scripture saue in the ij. textis bifore sett in the obiecciouu, of whiche textis oon is of Crist, Luk x^e. c̃., and the other is of Poul, i^e. Thim. v^e. c̃. In whiche bothe textis *meede* or *reward* is takun not propirli, as it is of meede spokun in the ij^e. partie of the ij^e. trouth bifore in the xvj^e. chapiter of this present iij^e. partie, but vnpropirli for *fynding*, of which it is spokun bifore in the first partie of the secunde trouthe in the xvj^e. chapiter of this present iij^e. partie.

This proved to be its true sense in the two texts named.

And that this answere is not feyned, but that he is trewe in this now laste partie may be proued. Forwhi ellis both Crist and Poul hadden meened aȝens open resoun; for open it is, that it, wherof thei speken in tho textis, is *fynding* to the precher into the deede of preching to be doon aftir the receyuyng of the

---

[1] Several concordances were made from the Vulgate before Pecock's time, the most ancient being that of Antonio of Padua, composed in the early part of the thirteenth century. Cardinal Hugo's performance, written about the middle of the same century, may probably be the work here intended by Pecock.

[2] *his* is added by a later hand.

same finding. Also ellis Crist in the alleggid x^e. chapiter of Luk schulde haue meened ȝens him silf in the other now alleggid placis, that he with his blis schal be the reward and meede of ech good vertuose deede; and Poul also in his alleggid text, i^e. Thim.[1] v^e. c̃. schulde ellis haue meened ȝens the now other seid spechis of God and of Crist; and also euer either of hem bothe schulden ellis haue meened in thilk ij. placis ȝens mo than l. othere placis of Holi Scripture, and ȝens the famose speche and meenyng of al the world fro the bigynning of the world hider to. And therfore myn answere now mad forto thus, as now is seid, ȝeue dew meenyng to the text of Crist, Luk x^e. c̃., and to the text of Poul, i^e. Thim.[1] v^e. c̃., is not feyned and lacking his sufficient colour and ground, but is euydentli ynouȝ trewe. CHAP. XVII.

The viij^e. trouthe is this: If the lay peple ȝaue at eny tyme to her curatis and to the successouris of her curatis perpetuali this riȝt forto clayme, aske, and haue ȝeerli certein offringis to be doon and tithis going out fro her wynnyngis and renewyngis, as fyndingis of the same curatis and successouris into deedis of her cure to be doon, thilk riȝt so ȝouun to the seid curatis and her successouris is lijk to the riȝt which myȝte be ȝouun to the same curatis or to othere curatis and her successouris forto cleyme, aske, and haue ȝeerly a free rente of money going out fro certeyn housis or londis, as a fynding to the same curatis forto do the deedis of her cure. And that the paraschens so, as is now bifore seid, ȝaue, it myȝte seme weel herbi. For ellis it wolde folewe that persouns and vikers, lyuyng oonli bi tithis and offringis, hadden no benefice; sithen a benefice is no thing ellis than a riȝt forto cleyme, aske, and haue certein fruytis or sum othir avail into his sufficient fynding forto do the deedis of his cure; for the benefice mai

THE EIGHTH TRUTH. Tithes are to be regarded as a free rent from the lands of the parishioners; for if it were otherwise, vicars living thereby would have no benefice.

[1] *Cor.*, MS. (twice).

CHAP. XVII.

not be seid to be the hous, neither the bodili chirche, neither the peple, neither the wijde cuntre of the parisch; for ech of these soortis now rehercid, except the laste, ben chaungid happili euery ȝeer; and the laste soort schulde rather be the benefice to the peple of the parisch than to him. And therfore a benefice is no thing ellis than what is now seid to be, that is to seie, a riȝt forto aske, receyue, and haue certeyn fruytis or sum othir avail into his fynding forto do summe deedis of sum certein office. Wherof folewith this present viij^{e}. trouthe to be firme and stable for a trouthe.

Uncertain voluntary offerings to the priest were commuted into certain fixed payments, to avoid the danger of his losing his income, if by a faithful discharge of his duty he offended them.

Also thus: It is to be seid that summe temporal goodis weren ȝouun to preestis being curatis into her lijflode in the first maner of the ij^{e}. trouthe, and that bi cause of Cristis speche, Luk x^{e}. c̃., in long proces, wheryn he seith, *The werkman is worthi his fynding*, and bi cause of Poulis speche, i^{e}. Thim. v^{e}. c̃. and i^{e}. Cor. ix^{e}. c̃., bi long proces. And ferthermore, sithen it was doon so aftir ward, that the maner of vncerteyn ȝeuyng at mennys deuocioun and plesaunce to preestis was chaungid into a certeinte of tithis and of offring in certein tymes, as open deede therupon schewith, and as y haue proued in *The spreding of the iiij. tablis*, and that for avoiding of perel and yuel, which ellis myȝte and wolde haue falle, if paraschens schulde haue be left in her owne fredom for to haue ȝouun or not ȝouun eny thing to her curat, or how miche or how litle to hem it schulde haue likid; it muste be trowid that for avoiding of lijk perel and lijk yuel it was doon, that the curat schulde be stabili endewid bi the seid tithis and offringis, so that it schulde be a ful riȝt ȝouun to him forto hem aske rere haue tho tithis and offringis and othere like paymentis, like to the riȝt of a free rente or a lyuerey going out of an abbey or citee or an other comunalte. Which perel and yuel wolde be this, that ellis, if such stable and fix endewing were not maad to the curat, hise

paraschenys myȝten and wolden him trouble with querelis, and theryn withdrawe his fynding, as ofte as he wolde bi doing of his dew cure offende hem. And certis in such aventure it were rather to truste to the conscience and discrecion of him which is in state of a reuler, than to the conscience of hem whiche ben in the state of hem that ben to be reulid. And therfore nedis cost it was doon, that the curat was stabili endewid bi suche tithis and offringis and othere suche lijk paymentis; or it ouȝte haue be so doon, if good reule hadde be seen; and therfore it is to be take now in fulfilling what was thanne left, as thouȝ it had be thanne so doon.

If the income of one who had cure of souls depended on the mere benevolence of his parishioners, no one would undertake such cure as a profession; so that his endowment is to be regarded as secure as that of a chantry-priest.

Also hou ellis schulde eny man be bold forto leue a craft to gete therbi his lijflode, and bicome a curat to othere; in lasse than he hadde a stable riȝt forto aske and haue his lijflode of his paraschens, and that his lijflode schulde not hange upon her plesaunce oonli; namelich sithen persoones, whiche ben nedis to be reulid of reulers, ouȝten not to be so miche trustid in so greet a cause forto not erre, neither for to be not other wise than weel avisid, that thei wolen not withdrawe vndewli what thei ouȝten paie, if thei be greued? And also how ellis myȝte bi eny discrecioun haue be ordeyned or haue be admittid of the laife suche statis in the chirch to be in subordinacioun of vndrers and ouerers, (as ben persoones of paraschens, and bischopis aboue hem, and archibischopis aboue hem, and patriarkis ouer hem, and thanne the pope hiȝest,) but if the louȝest degre, in which ben persoones, curatis, upon which alle these othere statis ben bildid, schulden haue a stable fix endewing of lijflode, and but[1] ech of these othere statis schulde haue her stable endewing[2] in lijk maner? And therfore it was

[1] Perhaps we should read *but if*, but see Glossary.

[2] *endewewing*, MS.

CHAP. XVII.

so doon, or ouȝte haue be so doon. And so for continuaunce of it what was doon, or for continuaunce of it which hath be so weel suffrid and allowid, as thouȝ it had be so ordeyned and doon, and ouȝte be now so ordeyned to be doon, (ne were that alle wijse men taken it as for doon, or as thouȝ it had be doon,) it is to be holde that the louȝer curatis, as persouns and vikers of paraschenis, ben stabili endewid in her riȝt forto aske and haue tithis and offringis and othere paymentis, how stabili a perpetual chauntry preest is endewid; so that his riȝt and benefice of lijflode hangith not upon the beneuolence of his paraschens.

Moreover it is unwise that the livelihood of rulers should depend on the caprice of those whom they rule.

And certis ferther forto seie, it were neuere wijs policie and reule, that the reulers lijflode schulde hange upon her wittis and willis, whiche schulden be bi him reulid or conceilid or detectid; and that bothe or it is to presume, that for the more parti her wittis and willis schulden be infirmer than ben hise, and also for freelnes thei wolden grucche ofter than thei schulden aȝens hise correpciouns and reulingis, as experience ofte in suche maters schewith. And therfore this present viij^{e}. trouthe and it what he presupposith is to be holde for trewe, and namelich to be vsid as for trewe; thouȝ special writingis of eldist ordinauncis of men in the Newe Testament kun not be founde, that so it was in eny tyme doon.

THE NINTH TRUTH. Parishioners having cause of complaint against clerks ought to bring them before an ecclesiastical court.

The ix^{e}. trouthe is this: Alle the peple of the lay parti, whiche wolden compleyne or holde hem wrongid of preestis or othere clerkis for the deedis not doon bi tho preestis or clerkis, into whiche deedis to be doon tho preestis and clerkis receyueden her fynding of the same peple in lay party, stoonden in caas of the firste trouthe, as it is open ynouȝ to se; and therfore thei mowe not eny punysching or eny restreyne sette to preestis or clerkis for the vndoing of

the deedis of cure, but the lay peple ouȝten compleyne hem to the iugis of the preestis and clerkis so trespacing and wronging, and proue her complaint to be trewe, and the other parti ouȝte be callid into answere forto wite whether thei kunnen excuse hem or no; and if the preestis and clerkis ben founde in the defaut, than first tho iugis ouȝten do therto dew and iust remedie. Forwhi, but if remedie of this wronging schulde be do in this wey, ellis no wey were forto make remedie to this wronging; sithen thilk remediyng muste outhir be doon bi hem that ben wrongid, which is aȝens the firste trouthe, or bi othere persoones ordeyned for to be ther yn iugis; and but if the bothe parties schulden be herd at fulle leysers, oon for to accuse, the other forto defende, ellis vnsufferable myscheuys of hasty domes wolde ofte falle. And therfore this ix^e^. trouthe is algatis to be holde.

THE TENTH TRUTH. The true remedy against criminous clerks is not to deprive them of their endowments, and to let them at the same time hold their offices.

The x^e^. trouthe is this: The remedie which is iust and dew to be sett upon preestis and clerkis, trespacing and wronging the lay peple in caas of the ix^e^. trouthe, muste needis be othere punyschingis than putting tho preestis and clerkis out of her possessioun had upon her endewingis and fyndingis,[1] bifore seid in the vj^e^., vij^e^., and viij^e^. trouthis, hem abiding stille in her afore had dignitees or officis. Foi whi, if these preestis and clerkis thus trespacing schulden or myȝten iustli be punischid bi the seid putting out of riȝt and possessioun, hem abiding stille in her dignitees or officis, this deede and processe of punysching schulde be mad and doon aȝens the bifore going here v^e^. and vj^e^. trouthis, as folewith weel bi strengthe of the vj^e^. trouthe; and wrong schulde be doon in thilk punysching to the successouris of tho preestis and clerkis

[1] *and fyndingis* is added in the margin by a later hand, which has made erasures in the text.

CHAP. XVII.

now lyuyng,[1] whiche successouris not ȝit han so trespacid, that thei schulden be punyschid or vnpossessid in her procutour or attorney occupiyng now tho godis and the possessioun of tho godis in his and her names to gidere.

THE ELEVENTH TRUTH. The proper punishment of such persons is fine, or penance, or deposition.

And therfore folewith her of the xj^e^. trouthe: That the iugis of these now seid preestis and clerkis, thus trespacing and wronging, ouȝte punysche tho preestis and clerkis bi payment of money, or bi open schame and peyne, or bi remouyng hem fro her had dignitees and officis, so that othere persoones worthi therto be putt yn forto succede to hem and forto continue the riȝt and the possessioun in her owne names and in her successouris names, that the successouris be not oonys vnpossessid for the perel and the wrong bifore sett in the vj^e^. trouthe; which perel and wrong schulde ellis bifalle to the seid successouris. And so bi al the processe bigunne bifore at the xvj^e^. chapiter of this iij^e^. partie and continued hidir to it is open that tho ij. opiniouns, conclusiouns, and holdingis there in the bigynnyng of the xvj^e^. chapiter rehercid, ben errouris and vntreuthis, if it what is presupposid to the vj^e^. trouthe be trewe.

xviij. CHAPITER.

Though these eleven truths sufficiently refute the two aforesaid opinions, yet more may be added. A gift may be made in four manners.

FERTHERMORE, thouȝ this processe bifore mad fro the bigynnyng of the xvj^e^. chapiter hidir to be sufficient forto schewe the ij. opiniouns there rehercid to be vntrewe, ȝit into the same purpos more mai be seid thus: In iiij. maners a man mai ȝeue to an othir man aloone, or to the othir man and to hise successouris,

[1] *lylyuing*, MS.

or to a couent or comounte and her successouris, movable and vnmovable godis.

THE FIRST MANNER. When the gift is absolute, without conditions expressed or understood.

The first maner is, if a man ȝeueth to me oonli, or to me and my successouris,[1] or to me and mi felawis and oure successouris, freli and vttirli, that is to seie, withoute eny hope or loking after that eny thing be aȝen ȝouun, or eny other deede as therfore be doon, as bi boond and withoute eny reconuencioun or couenaunt of bond expressid or priueli vndirstonde forto ȝeue aȝen or for to do therfore eny deede and with oute eny condicioun. Certis in this firste maner fadris and modris ben woned ȝeue to her next children oonli, and sumtyme to her next children and to the successouris bi blood of her next children; and this ȝift procedith of pure free loue which the ȝeuer hath to the receyuer; or ellis, thouȝ vndir hope, trust, and entent, ȝit withoute meenyng that[2] the receyuer be bounde to fulfille and performe thilk hope, trust, and entent.

THE SECOND MANNER. When a gift is made under hope that the receiver should perform some office, yet the receiver in no way implies that he shall perform it. In that case the receiver is not bound to fulfil the trust.

The ij^e. maner is: If a man ȝeueth[3] to me aloone, or to me and my successouris, or to me and to my felawis and oure successouris, eny movable or vnmouable thing, with hope and trust or entent that y aloone, (if it be ȝouun to me aloone,) or that y and mi successouris, (if it be ȝouun to me and my successouris,) or that y and my felawis and oure successouris, (if it be ȝouun to me and hem and oure successouris,) schulen ȝeue aȝen or do sum deede as ther fore or as ther with or ther bi to be don as bi boond. And in this caas of ȝifte, if y take not upon me and consente not for me and my successouris in my name and heris forto fulfille and performe thilk trust, entent, and hope born toward me and my successouris, as for that y am absent fro the ȝeuer, whanne he so

---

[1] *sussessouris*, MS. (by clerical error ?).

[2] *that* is interlineated by a later hand.

[3] ȝ*eue*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. XVIII.

ȝeueth; or if y therazens reclame or proteste for me and hem, that y for me and for hem wole be fre withoute boond or couenaunt for to it fulfille and performe, as whanne that y am at the ȝeuer present in tyme of his ȝift making or in tyme of the ȝifte to me denouncing, and ȝit the ȝeuer reuokith not the forme of his now seid ȝift, y and my successouris mowen reioice the seid thing so to us ȝouun, and we ben not bounde for to fulfille his trust born vp on or toward us.

THE THIRD MANNER. When under the same circumstances of the giver, the receiver consents openly or by implication to fulfil the trust by way of covenant. He is then bound.

But azenward as for the iij^e. maner of ȝeuyng, if in the caas of the ij^e. ȝeuyng, as doon in the ȝeuers side, y in my name and in the name of my successouris bihete or proteste or consente openli bi word or bi other signe, or priueli bi interpretacioun and presumpcioun to be in this mater take bi that, that y, being present and heering the forme of this ȝifte to me and to mi successouris thus vndir trust and entent mad or to me denouncid, am stille in not reclaymyng azens the trust neither azens the ȝifte, am certis with my successouris bounde not for the putting of such trust upon us oonli, but as bi couplid to gidere couenaunt forto fulfille the seid put upon us trust and entent, if we wolen reioice the ȝift. Of which couenaunt the oon parti is in the ȝeuers side; that we schulen haue the seid thing; and the other partie is in oure side, that we schulen therfore or therbi or therwith do and performe his upon us bisett trust. For couenaunt is a double graunt or a double ȝeuyng couplid to gidere of ij. persoones or parties, graunting or ȝeuyng to gidere in the maner now expressid.

Examples of this kind of gift.

In caas of this iij^e. maner ben tho that ben feffid in othere mennys londis iointli oonli, or ioyntli and deviseli vndir expressid trust, that thei do sum what therwith. Also in caas of this iij^e. maner ben executouris of a testatour, as comoun formes of testamentis

beren open record and witnes, whanne the seid feffers and executouris expresseli or priueli bi presumpcioun of the lawe graunten and consenten as bi couenaunt making, that thei schulen performe the seid trust and entent.

THE FOURTH MANNER. When in the deed of gift itself conditions are expressly set down. In that case, if the receiver break them, the gift becomes void both as regards him and his successors.

The iiij^e. maner of ȝeuyng is whanne in the forme of ȝeuyng and in the expressioun of the ȝeuyng is sett expresseli a condicioun as a parti of the ȝift or ȝeuyng, bisidis alle condiciouns, whiche ben nedis cost to be priueli vnderstonde in ech ȝift, in ech couenaunt, in ech vow, and ooth, of whiche condiciouns mensioun is made in the ij^e. parti of the book *Filling the iiij. tablis.* And whanne in this maner ȝift is maad to me and to my successouris, and y or eny of hem fulfille not the condicioun, certis as soone as the condicioun is brokun the ȝift is voide; and the thing so ȝouun vnder condicioun fallith out of his possessioun, which brekith the condicioun; and therwith the thing fallith out of the possessioun of alle hise successouris, bi as miche as the ȝift is oonys voide and come into nouȝt, and therfore mai not come aȝen withoute a new deede of ȝeuyng.

Yet the receiver may not against his will be ousted, till proof be made before a judge that he has both actually and wilfully broken the condition.

Neuertheles the seide man mai not be put aȝens his wil out of the possessioun of the thing, eer than bi iugement of the iuge he be therto condempned, and sufficient compleint and proof is maad that the ȝift was so[1] as is now seid maad vndir condicioun to him and to hise successouris, and proof therwith is mad that he hath brokun witingli and wilfulli the same condicioun; thouȝ as bi strengthe of cleer conscience, as soone as he brekith the condicioun, he fallith fro al riȝt to holde and haue eny lenger the seid thing to him and hise successouris so ȝouun. And therfore vndir ful miche perel of soule ech such

[1] *so* is interlineated by a later hand.

CHAP. XVIII.

man and ech of hise successouris ouȝten be waar that he breke not the condicioun of the ȝift to him and to[1] hise successouris mad, lest he bi thilk breking bringe yn greet losse to hise successouris withoute her deseruyng.

Although the right to a maintenance by tithes and offerings was given to the clergy as a help to discharge the duties which they had undertaken to perform, yet the great manors, castles, &c., which were given to bishops, colleges, &c. were, with some few late exceptions, given absolutely in the first manner just mentioned.

Aftir the descryuyng of thes iiij. maners of ȝeuyngis it is to be considerid, that, (thouȝ the riȝt and lawe forto cleyme, aske, and haue tithis and offringis and othere suche smale paymentis was mad or ȝouun to bischopis and to othere preestis and clerkis in the first maner of the ij^e. trouthe, declarid bifore in the xvj^e. chapitre, as mai be take herbi: It is to be seid that summe temporal godis were ȝouun to hem in thilk maner, bi cause of Cristis speche, Luk x^e. c̃., where he seith, *The werkman is worthi his fynding*, and bi cause of Poulis lijk speche, i^e. Thim. v^e. c̃., and i^e. Cor. ix^e. c̃.; and noon othere godis kunnen be founde forto be ȝouun to bischopis and to othere preestis and clerkis in thilk first maner of the ij^e. trouthe, saue tithis and offringis and suche othere smale parcellingis of paymentis; and therfore it is to be take that the riȝt forto aske and haue suche tithis and offringis and suche othere smale godis was ȝouun to bischopis and to othere preestis and clerkis in the firste maner of the ij^e. trouthe, ȝhe, and therfor in hardir maner than is bifore tauȝt, proued, and concludid in the x^e. and xj^e. trouthis the lay peple mowen not iustli procede aȝens bischopis and othere preestis and clerkis, as forto make hem lese tho tithis and offringis,) —ȝit it is to be vndirstonde and to be take that the grete maners, castellis, and court placis, and the grete lordschipis of barunries and othere suche like, whiche weren ȝouun summe to bischopis, summe to archidekenes, summe to deenys, summe to collegis, weren

[1] *to* is interlineated by a later hand.

ȝouun in the firste of these iiij. maners now in this present xviij^{e}. chapiter descriued: except oonli tho of whos ȝeuyng it is expressid in the chartour of the ȝeuyng, that thei were ȝouun in the ij^{e}. maner, or in the iij^{e}. maner, or in the iiij^{e}. maner. Forwhi, no man in eny thing receyuyng into ȝifte ouȝte holde him silf and hise successouris ther yn to be more bounde than he knowith him and hise successouris to be ther yn bounde, and that bothe for eschewing of lesing and of vntrouthe, and for eschewing of grete perelis and disturblauncis and debatis, whiche ellis aȝens conscience schulden bifalle, and for that iugement is euere to be ȝouun for fredomys parti, saue into how myche can be schewid sufficientli for bondage; and so it is, that neither bi witnessing in word of hem that herden the forme of the now seid ȝiftis, neither bi the[1] cartis or chartouris writun ther upon to bischopis and to othere seid persoones can be had eny sufficient euydence, that tho now laste seid grete and riche castellis and maners weren ȝouun vndir the iiij^{e}. maner, or vndir the iij^{e}. maner, but if it be fewe, and that in late daies, as to collegis vnder hope, trust, and entent, that the maister and the felawis kepe the statutis of the collegis, and as to summe abbeies or monasterijs forto kepe ȝeerli solempnytees of certeyn obitis. Wherfore it is to be take, that alle these seid endewingis to bischopis and to othere worthi statis in the chirche weren ȝeue to hem and to her successouris in the firste of the seid iiij. maners oonli in this present chapiter bifore discriued, excepte tho endewingis which now ben seid to be exceptid bi cartis or othere writingis, witnessing other forme of her ȝeuyng.

[1] *the* is interlineated by a later (?) hand.

CHAP. XVIII.

Confirmation of this view from the charters and deeds of gift conveying manors and castles to bishops and convents.

Confirmacioun to this now concludid trouthe and conclusioun is this, that in the cartis or chartouris, conteynyng the formes of ȝeuyng the seid greet endewing [bi] vnmovable godis (except oonli tho whiche ben now bifore seid to be exceptid) is noon other forme of ȝeuyng expressid, than that this man or thilk man or thilk womman ȝeueth this castel with the purtenauncis, thilk maner with hise feeldis, (and so forth of othere like,) to thilk bischop and hise successouris, or to thilk abbot and couent and to her successouris for euere, into pure and free and perpetual almes. And if this be trewe, (as it wole be founde trewe, if the seid cartis be schewid,) certis thanne folewith needis, that alle tho vnmouable godis so ȝouun weren ȝouun oonli in the first of the iiij.[1] now here rehercid maners. Forwhi if y ȝeue a noble to a poor man and seie to him thus: "I ȝeue to thee "this into very and pure almes," y meene not in tho wordis, that he schulde do ther with myn almes or his owne almes; but y meene, that y in so ȝeuyng to him do myn almes, and that y make thilk deede of ȝeuyng myn[2] owne almes, and that y comytte to his wil forto do therwith what him likith. Not with stonding y hope that he wole vertuoseli ful weel spende it. Wherfore bi lijk skile, if lordis or ladies seiden and wroten in this wise: "Y ȝeue to this "bischop or abbot and hise successouris this town or "thilk town or this maner or thilk maner into pure "and perpetual almes," thei meeneden not that the bischop and hise successouris or abbot and couent and her successouris schulden do therwith the very and pure perpetual almes of the ȝeuers, neither his owne pure and perpetual almes, but that tho lordis and ladies maden thilk her seid ȝeuyng to be as her pure

[1] *iiij^{e}.*, MS.

[2] *of myn*, MS. (first hand).

and perpetual almes, so that the bischop or the abbot and her successouris receyuyng the seid good vndir this forme of ȝeuyng is free to do therwith what thei wolen, as for eny bound growun to hem bi the ȝifte so mad to hem; thouȝ it were so, that the seid lordis and ladies so ȝeuyng hadden so good opinioun upon bischopis and abbotis in tho daies, that thei trowiden algatis that bischopis and abbotis wolden not spende tho ȝiftis other wise than vertuoseli and weel. But ȝit what is al this for to make eny bond to the abbot or bischop and her successouris forto spende weel tho ȝiftis, more than if the same abbot or bischop and her successouris hadden the same ȝiftis bi heritage or bi biyng or bi wynnyng in waiouring or bi sum other fre maner of geting and receyuyng? And so thus miche more as is conteyned in this present xviij^{e}. chapiter hidir to y caste to ouer what is seid bifore in the xvj^{e}. and xvij^{e}. chapitris forto schewe the ij. opiniouns to be vntrewe, whiche ben bifore rehercid in the bigynnyng of the xvj^{e}. chapiter.

A gift made under an express condition as a part of the gift, differs from a gift made under trust and intent, which is not a part of the gift.

Forthermore, for more declaracioun to be had in this mater, it is to vndirstonde that a ȝift mad in the iiij^{e}. maner now bifore spokun muste needis be dyuers and othir than is the ȝifte mad in the ij^{e}. or iij^{e}. maner. Forwhi, whanne a ȝifte is mad in the iiij^{e}. maner, how euer soone the condicioun is not fulfillid, the ȝifte is voide and cesith, bi cause the condicioun is a parti of the forme of ȝeuyng; but whanne a ȝifte is maad vndir entent or hope, thilk entent or hope is not a condicion and a parti of the ȝeuyng, but it is a circumstaunce of the ȝeuyng, which is clepid eende or purpos of the ȝeuer. Forwhi, sithen euery vertuose ȝift is doon for sum eende, (for no man mai eny deede do avisidli withoute sum eende and entent and purpos therto take, as y haue proued in othere placis,) it wolde ellis folewe needis, that euery ȝifte maad bi delyberacioun were a ȝifte

CHAP. XVIII.

vndir condicioun,[1] bi cause euery ȝifte mad vndir deliberacioun is mad into an eende, purpos, [or] entent, hopid and trustid to be doon; and therfore needis it muste be trewe, that a ȝift vnder trust and entent mad is not a ȝifte vnder condicioun maad; and so a ȝifte vndir the iiij^e. maner mad is dyuers needis fro ȝifte[2] in the firste or ij^e. or iij^e. maner mad.

A gift made under trust, if accepted as such, is a covenant, the non-fulfilment of which by the receiver does not forthwith make the gift void: but such a receiver may be punished for his neglect, or if he persist therein, may eventually be deprived by just judgment.

Also the iij^e. maner of ȝift, which is a couenaunt, is a double ȝifte of the principal ȝeuer and of the receyuer. Forwhi the principal ȝeuer ȝeueth a thing or a dede, and the receyuer ȝeueth aȝenward, as therto or therfore coupling an other thing or deede; and open it is, that the iiij^e. maner of ȝifte is not but oon symple ȝifte; and therfore the iiij^e. maner and the iij^e. maner needis ben dyuerse, and not oon and the same. And for as miche as the iij^e. maner of ȝeuyng is not oon symple ȝifte but ij. ȝiftis, of which oon passith fro the principal ȝeuer into the principal receyuer, and the other passith fro the seid principal receyuer into the seid principal ȝeuer; therfore in caas of the iij^e. ȝeuyng, aftir that the principal ȝeuer hath mad execucioun and delyuerance of the thing or deede ȝouun to the principal receyuer, eer than the receyuer make execucion or delyueraunce of the thing or deede bi him ȝouun or namelich bihiȝt to or for the principal ȝeuer, if the seid principal receyuer in eny tyme wole not performe what he so bihiȝte, ȝit he fallith not therbi fro the riȝt which he hath bi the ȝifte of the principal ȝeuer mad to him, neithir in that and therbi the ȝifte mad to the receyuer is voide. For whi the ȝifte so mad to him passid into him fulli and hoolli with al the substaunce and alle the parties of the same ȝifte, and therfore it muste needis abide, thouȝ the ȝifte which the receyuer made or bihiȝte forto

[1] *a condicioun*, MS. (first hand. | [2] Probably we should read *a ȝifte*.

make be not performed and executid; sithen this ij^e. ȝifte is not substaunce neither parti of the firste ȝifte, as it is open; for ellis thei weren not ij. ȝiftis, but oon ȝifte, thouȝ thei be ij. ȝiftis couplid and cheyned to gidere. But certis up on this receyuer compleint mai be mad, and he mai be callid into iugement, and whanne it is proued that he hath not performed what he ouȝte haue performed bi strengthe of the seid iij^e. maner, he mai be therfore punischid; but he mai not of what he hath receyued be depriued, al the while he wole amende and continue what he promisid. Neuertheles if he openli knoulechith, that he wole not performe the biheest mad to the principal ȝeuer; or ellis, that he ofte and miche failith, after that ofte and miche he hath be iugid and comandid for to amende,[1]—so the discrecioun of the iuge is that the seid receyuer can not frutefulli and conuenientli be punyschid other wise than bi the depriuyng of the ȝifte mad to him,—certis thanne bi sentence of the iuge he may be mad lese the thing so to him ȝouun, and not erst, neither other wise. And this remedie now sett here is al what mai be do aȝens the vntrouthe of the receiuer in caas of the iij^e. ȝeuyng. And skile whi al this is trewe may be perceyued weel ynowȝ of a diligent considerer, waiting weel to ech word which is now bifore here seid. CHAP. XVIII.

[1] *amende* is added in the margin, in a later hand.

xix. Chapiter.

In the earliest times church-endowments usually belonged to a bishop and his clergy in common, the churches of his diocese being regarded as chapels of the mother church. They were soon afterwards divided by the bishop and clergy themselves into four parts, for the bishop his clergy, a building-fund, and the poor respectively; such division to continue so long as they thought fit. Some variations from this division obtained in some places.

Also in this mater of the clergies endewing bi vnmovable godis it is to wite, that in sum tyme[1] and in summe cuntreis, namelich in the eeldist tyme of such now seid endewing, vnmouable godis weren ȝouun to the bischop and his clergie and to her successouris in comoun to gidere, euen as lijk ȝeuyng hath be mad sithen to an abbot and his couent and her successouris. For in the oold tyme the bischop and hise preestis with hise othere clerkis helden residence in the modir chirche, and alle othere chirchis of the diocise weren chapellis oonli therto; and thanne alle tho godis and alle othere movable godis of thilk chirche or comounte weren reulid and expendid bi the hondis or namelich bi the ouer siȝt[2] and wil and disposicioun of the bischop. Neuertheles, soone aftir such endewing receyued in this seid maner bi greete plente of ricches, the bischop and his hool chirche of the clergie accordiden to gidere not bi boond but bi freenes of deuocioun forto contynue oonli so long as to hem it schulde like, that her seid so greet and large endewing, whilis it abode in so greet sufficience, schulde be departid into iiij. parties; of which the oon the bischop schulde haue forto supporte his honour and hise chargis of gistis and suche othere; an other parti the preestis and othere clerkis schulden haue for her fynding and sustentacioun; and the iij^{e}. schulde be bisett vpon reparacion and sustentacion of the bodili chirche and of liȝtis and ournamentis and of suche othere thingis; and the iiij^{e}. partie schulde be delid to poor men into almes;

[1] *sumtyme*, MS. | [2] *bi ouer siȝt*, MS. (first hand).

thouȝ in ech of these parties al schulde go and passe bi disposicioun of the bischop, and thouȝ in summe cuntreis the departing was mad other wise and[1] into iij. parties, as a man mai fynde in oold writingis.[2]

Afterwards the bishop and clergy agreed permanently to affix certain portions of the fund to the bishop, dean, archdeacon, &c., and their successors, so that the common property was by just authority converted into private property. In after times some possessions were given to the bishop only, or to the dean and chapter only. Knowledge of these facts essential to the understanding of the Canon Law.

Ferthermore, in othere tymes and in othere cuntrees, or in the same now bifore spokun cuntrees, but in tyme succeding to the now bifore spokun tyme, suche chirchis thus endewid, (that is to seie, considering that tho godis weren ȝouun to hem in the firste or ij^e^. maner bifore seid in the xvj^e^. chapiter, and not in the iij^e^. or iiij^e^. maner there spokun, and therfore thei myȝten bi her comoun asent aliene these same godis fro hem silf, and myȝten make hem to be verrili the propre godis of this man or of thilk man,) tooken avise to gidere and departiden these godis, and ȝauen oon parti to the bischop forto be as in propre his good and hise successouris with oute eny other ther yn partyners; and in lijk maner thei ȝauen an othir parti to the deen and hise successouris in propirte of lordschip; and an other parti to the archideken and hise successouris in propirte of lordschip; and so forth to othere. And thus tho godis, which weren bifore comoun, weren mad propre bi hem which hadden therto sufficient auctorite and power; thouȝ after in othere tymes summe lordis ȝauen certein possessiouns to the bischop and to hise successouris oonli, and sum othere ȝauen to the clerkis and preestis of the queer and to her successouris oonli, as the writingis of tho ȝeuyngis beren open witnes. Certis this consideracioun now seid in this present chapiter schal do greet eese to reders in the *Summe* of Gracian, or in the oold book maad of popis *Decretalis*, and of decrees mad in general counceilis and in prouincial

---

[1] *and* is interlineated in a later hand.

[2] For the ancient authorities on this subject, see Bingham's *Antiq. Chr. Ch.*, book v. c. 6.

CHAP. XIX.

counceilis of dyuerse cuntrees. Forwhi summe chapitris, whiche a man schal rede in tho bokis, speken of the maner had in oon and for oon of the now bifore discryued tymes; and summe othere chapitrees speken of the maner had in an other and for the same othir of the now bifore discryued tymes; summe speken of the maner had in oon and for oon prouynce or cuntre; and sum speken of the maner had in an other and for the other of the now bifore descriued prouyncis or cuntrees. And therefore tho chapitres ben not betwixe hem silf repugnant, thouȝ thei schulen so seme to be, if this which is now bifore [seid] in this present chapiter be not considerid; riȝt as othere chapitres in Gracianys *Summe* and in *The book of Decretalis*, (of whiche chapitres summe speken that "clerkis schulden "not make testament of her chirchis godis," and summe speken that "thei mowen make testament of the "chirches godis,") ben to be vndirstonde aftir the tymes and cuntrees, in whiche and for whiche thei weren made; and thei alle ben not to be take for ech tyme and ech cuntre. And, if this be considerid, tho chapitres schulen be seen forto not repugne bitwixe hem silf. And therfore, riȝt as whanne and where it was ordeyned that clerkis schulden not make testament of the chirchis godis, thanne and there it was not leeful hem forto make eny such testament; so whanne and where the contrarie was ordeyned, or the other now seid ordinaunce was reuokid, or bi eny iust wey he ceesid, clerkis myȝten weel ynouȝ saafli in conscience make testament of her chirchis godis, whiche camen to hem bi riȝt of her tyme.[1]

A man may have property in two ways, either by

Ferthermore it is to wite, that in ij. maners of vndirstonding it mai be seid that godis ben of man;

[1] See Gratian. *Decret.* pars. ii. caus. x. and caus. xii. throughout; also Greg. *Decretal.* lib. iii. tit. xxvi.

oon is, for that thei ben hise bi riȝt which he hath in hem, or bi riȝt which he hath into hem; an other is, for that it is semeli and conuenient that the godis be ȝouun to him. Ensaumple of these ij. maners is this: If y be riche and haue wunne more good than is necessarie to me my silf and to myne, al this good is neuer the lasse myn, and no parti of this good is eny other mannys good in the first now seid maner, which is very and propre. Neuertheles, bi cause it is conuenient and semeli and a counseil or a bidding of God that my good, being ouerplus to the nede of me and of myne, y schulde ȝeue to poor men into almes, therfore in an vnpropre maner of speche, which is the ij^e. now seid maner, these godis of myne being so ouer plus mowen be seid the godis of poor men, eer thei be ȝouun to poor men, and eer thei be mad verili and propirli to speke the godis of poor men in the firste maner now here bifore sett and seid. And so in this secunde maner of vnpropre speking is the long processe of Seint Bernard to be vndirstonde, which is sett in *The iiij^e. book of flouris,* the iiij^e. chapiter in the eende, and in the v^e. chapiter there in the bigynnyng, where he seith thus: *What euer thing comyng to thee bi riȝt of the auctir thou takist ouer thi necessarie feding and thi symple clothing, it is not thin, it is raueyn, it is sacrilegi,*[1] that is to seie thefte of holi good.—*For to not ȝeue to poor men the godis of poor men is euen synne with sacrilegie. Certeinli the ricchessis of chirchis ben patrimonyes of poor men, and therfore what euer thing the mynystris ther of, (whiche ben despensatours ther of, and not lordis or possessouris ther of,) taken to hem silf ouer lijflode and clothing, thei taken fro poor men with*

right, or because it is fit that he should receive it. Thus a rich man's whole property is strictly his, but it is God's will that the poor should receive of his abundance, so that it may be called in a manner the property of the poor. St. Bernard terms the riches of the church the patrimony of the poor in this sense.

[1] "Denique quicquid præter necessarium victum ac simplicem vestitum de altario retines, tuum non est; rapina est, sacrilegium est." S. Bernard. *Epist.* 2. (Op. tom. 1. p. 120. Ed. Par. 1839.)

CHAP. XIX.

a sacrilegiose cruelte.[1] Thus miche and more of this mater Bernard seith there. But y seie, Certis if Bernard in these wordis there writun be not vndirstonde in this now seid secunde maner or in sum other lijk maner dyuers fro the firste seid maner, which is propre maner of speche in this mater, ellis it is to be seid that Bernard in thilk seiyng failid.

Other ancient church-writers to be understood similarly. Caution in reading them necessary. For lack of this Henricus Gandavensis has fallen into the absurdity of maintaining that prelates have no right of lordship in church property. His notions are confuted by the charters of donation.

Also manye processis of holi men, whiche thei writun in this mater, ben to be take thus, that thei so wroten in wey of counseiling and in wey of exorting, as thei wolden that it were and as thei wolden that men wolde do, and not that thei wroten in wey of diffynyng that it ouȝte needis be so doon. And therfore riȝt weel waar ouȝte reders be, whanne thei reden in oold mennys writingis, that thei cleue not ouer soone therto, into tyme thei han reducid, resolued, and brouȝt the conclusiouns whiche thei there reden, in to the propre principlis and groundis of tho conclusiouns, of whiche and bi whiche principlis and groundis tho same conclusiouns muste take her trouthis, if tho conclusiouns eny trouthe haue in hem. For certis noon of the conclusions, whiche euer holi men wroten, takith his trouthe herbi and herfore, for that thei wroten thilk conclusioun; but ech conclusioun takith his trouthe of and fro and bi his ground and principil, fro and out of which he descendith in formal argument, thouȝ no writer in the world hadde euer ther of write eny word, or schulde in tyme to come

[1] "Res pauperum non pauperibus dare, par sacrilegio crimen esse dignoscitur. Sane patrimonia sunt pauperum facultates ecclesiarum: et sacrilega eis crudelitate surripitur quicquid sibi ministri et dispensatores, non utique domini vel possessores, ultra victum accipiunt et vestitum." Gaufrid. Abb. *Declam. ex Bernard.* (inter S. Bernard. Op. tom. ii. p. 612.) The *Flores Bernardi*, to which Pecock refers, are merely collections of extracts from his works, genuine and spurious, first made apparently by William of Tournay. See the Benedictine editor's remarks.

write eny word; as that ech conclusioun of holi feith, (that is to seie, into whos fynding and leernyng mannys resoun [mai come] withoute therto mad reuelacioun or assercioun fro God) be founde groundid in Holi Scripture; and ech conclusioun, in to whos fynding and leernyng mannys resoun withoute the seid reuelacioun and assercioun and withoute assercioun of eny other creature (as oonli therof teller, asserer, or witnesser,) may come to, is to be founde groundid in philsophie, and in therof principlis so open that no resoun mai aȝens hem seie nay. And ferthermore, that it is noon inconuenience forto holde that oolde writers and holi writers and writers clepid "Holi Doctouris" faileden sum while in her writingis, schal be open ynowȝ in the book clepid *The iust apprising of Doctouris*, and sum what in the book clepid *The iust apprising of Holi Scripture*. And if thilk doctor Henric, which is clepid "The Solempne Doctor,"[1] hadde blessid him silf fro this now seid perel, he and hise felowers[2] hadden not falle into this dotage, forto seie and holde stifly, that prelatis of the chirche in the clergie ben not very lordis of the vnmouable goodis whiche ben ȝouun or bitake to hem, but thei ben fruyte vsers of tho godis hauyng therwith power to dispense in almes al that is ouer it that is to be take into her nede.[3] Certis y mai wel seie that this opinioun is a dotage. For y woot not where yn a man schulde be seid more to dote than to holde aȝens the playn

[1] Henricus Goethals taught theology in the Sorbonne, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, "tanta cum laude, ut totius academiæ Parisiensis suffragio Doctor Solennis appellari meruit." Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s. v.

[2] *felowis* (?), MS. (first hand).

[3] "Primo modo habere bona in communi non diminuit de perfectionis ratione, quia habentur etiam à ministris ecclesiæ, ut eis debita ratione servitii et ordinis quem habent in ecclesiâ, et hoc quo ad id quod pro horâ convertunt in usum necessarium. Quo ad residuum enim habent ea, ut aliis, qui nullum jus habent in eis, dispensanda." Henr. Gandav. *Aur. Quodl.* (n. vii.) p. 441. Ed. Venet. 1613.

CHAP. XIX.

forme of tho charters, bi whiche the possessiouns of the chirche ben ȝouun to prelatis and to clerkis and to her successouris forto be her owne in very lordschip; and so whether thei in so holding doten, or ellis that y in my now ȝouun doctrine erre, lete the writingis and the chartours of the donatouris or of the ȝeuers be iugis, for in this mater noon othere thingis or persoones mowen be so sure theryn iugis.

Yet although the clergy have real lordship over their property ecclesiastical, as much as over any other, they have no moral right to spend it amiss; as neither have laymen; indeed clergy, who should be patterns to others, are doubly inexcusable, if they do so.

Neuertheles thouȝ y feele thus, that the clergie hath very lordschip upon the vnmovable godis ȝouun to hem, and also upon the offringis and tithis ȝouun to hem, so ferforth that as with thingis being verili heris thei mowen ther with do what thei wolen, as for eny lak or defaut of power and of lordschip hauyng ther upon, as ferforth as thei myȝten if thei hadden wonne the same godis with labour of hond or with craft, or hadden had tho godis bi successioun of heritage; (forwhi in euer either caas thei ben like very lordis of the godis;) ȝit y feele not thus, that the clerkis ben free therbi forto expende tho godis in eny point aȝens riȝt doom of resoun in pride or in glotenye or in leccherie or in waast, and ben not worthi blame of God; forwhi no temporal lord or louȝer man, hauyng more plente of good than is necessarie to the nede of him silf and of hise, is so fre; sithen al, what euer is doon aȝens resoun, is more[1] moral vice and synne; and therfore in caas of such vnresonable expensis doon bi clerkis and bi the laife, y holde and feele that miche more the clerkis synnen in so expending than the lay persoones in lijk maner expending synnen, and that for circumstaunce of the kunnyng in clerkis, and for this circumstance that thei ouȝten be ensaumplers of moral vertues to the lay partie. And this is the hardist point of greet perel, which y can bringe aȝens clerkis spending amys the goodis ȝouun to hem, if y

[1] Probably *more* should be cancelled.

schal seie and speke aftir sure fundamental encerche, and not be recheles forto faile bi moving of greet deuocioun with oute sufficient bifore had groundly consideracioun, as manye deuoute writers ben founde to do.

Wiclif's opinion that, if the clergy misuse their endowments, they may be deprived of them, confuted. The evil acts of one clerk ought not to deprive his successor of his rights.

Ferthermore it is to wite, that oon clerk, (but verili to seie oon heretik,) tempereth the firste opinioun rehercid bifore in the bigynnyng of the xvj^e^. chapiter, and seith in this maner, that if the clergie mys vse habituali or customabili his vnmovable endewing, the clergie may leefulli and ouȝte be dispoilid of thilk endewing bi the temporal lordis, and ellis not.[1] But that this seiyng is vnskilful may be schewid thus: How euer habituali or customabili y trespace aȝens the king, what schal this hurte myn heir which no thing trespacith to the king, but is a ful louyng and a trewe servaunt to the king? Or how euer habituali or customabili I trespace now to the king or to God bi myn vnmovable or movable godis, whi schulen mi children not ȝit bigeten suffre therbi eny losse of good to hem dew, whiche not ȝit trespacen neither habituali neither actuali? Or in caas that certeyn godis be ȝouen to me and to othere iiij.[2] felawis in comoun, if y trespace to the king or to God habituali or customabili, what resoun were it that thei not ȝit so trespacing schulden be dispoilid of thilk hool same good? Wherfore if y be a bischop and mys vse habituali or customabili myn vnmovable possessiouns,

[1] Pecock here refers to Wiclif, who affirms that in "many caas suiets may lefully withstond tithes by God's law and man's also:" (*Of Clerks possessioners*, MS. c. 25): and that "the curates ben more cursed of God for withdrawing of teeching in word and deed in good ensample, than the suiets or people in withdrawing tithes and offerings, when they don not well their gostly office." (*Of the Office of Curates*, MS. c. 5.) Both these citations are taken from Lewis' *Life of Wicliffe*, p. 121.

[2] Perhaps an error of the copyist for *mi*.

CHAP. XIX.

and thouȝ an hundrid of my predecessouris han mys vsid like wise, what riȝt were this that an ynnocent, ȝhe, many innocentis comyng aftir me, to whom these godis ben ȝouun as weel as to me, and whiche schulden weel vse tho same godis, schulden be depriued of the same godis?

Neither ought it to be said that a man's successors will misuse goods, because he and his predecessors have done so. Whoever takes on himself to say this, usurps an attribute of God.

If thou seie the now rehercid opynyoun of the seid clerk to be groundid here on [this,] that sufficient mark and euydence may be take, that al my successouris schulen be viciose mys vsers of tho godis, bi cause that y and so manye of my predecessouris han be in habit and in custom mys vsers of the same godis, certis this ground is vntrewe. Forwhi a man forto take such a mark or evidence were him forto iuge of thingis pureli and vttirli to come, and so forto take upon him the iugement which oonli longith to God, after sentence of Crist rehercid, Acts i^e. c̃., where it is writun that Crist seide, *It is not of ȝou forto wite tymes and momentis, which the Fadir hath putt in his power;* and so such a iuger schulde iuge ouer presumptuoseli, sithen he stieth so hiȝ that he takith upon him the iugement which is according oonli to God, and in that he makith him as God, which mai not be withoute synne and vice. And therfore this grounding is nauȝt, for it is aȝens resoun now formed.

The history of the Jews confutes this notion. Thus, among other instances, the good king Hezekiah came after a succession of bad kings.

It is also aȝens the witnes of Holi Scripture. Forwhi not withstonding that King Saul was a wickid customable synner, ȝit God prouidid that Dauid a iust king succedid next to him; and not withstonding that fro King Roboam in Israel bi long successioun into Ezechie ech king was habituali an ydolatrer and mys vsing habituali the godis of his state and degre and office, ȝit a ful noble and holi king Ezechie and an other good king Iosie succediden. And therfore bi lijk skile, thouȝ y bischop and many of my predecessouris weren habituali and customabili mys vsing godis of the chirche, no sufficient mark and euydence

mai be take therbi that alle my successouris schulen be in lijk maner habituali or customabili mys vsers.

Also aȝens the seid opinioun may be argued thus: If the seid opinioun be trewe, thanne sithen the endewing of princis is mad to hem for that thei schulden weel vse hem in spending hem vertuoseli aboute the good temporal reuling of her peplis, (namelich where that princis ben endewid bi the comounte,) it wolde folewe, if princis weren customabili mys vsers of tho godis, that the comoun peple schulden take fro hem tho godis hem abiding in her statis of princehode. And if this schulde be doon, manye myscheefis wolden therof folewe. Wherfore the seid opinioun is not to be holde no more for the seid habituacioun and custom, than if the mys vce be withoute the seid habituacioun or custom; for in euer either caas lijk wrong schulde be doon to the successouris. And open it is, that of what euer gouernaunce or deede folewith and cometh bi his strengthe vnriȝt or wrong, thilk deede or gouernaunce in him silf is vnriȝt and wrong; and so thilk opinioun taken upon the seid habituacioun was take childeli and lewidli.

Moreover if the opinion were true, evil kings might with equal reason be deprived of their possessions, from which much mischief and wrong would follow. Such an opinion is therefore false and absurd.

Thus y make an eende of the iij^e. parti of this present book.

Here bigynneth the iiij^e. parti.

The First Chapitre.

The various degrees and ranks among the clergy is the third point complained of. The complainers would have no other ranks in the clergy except those of priests and deacons; and they think government by bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and a pope antichristian.

The iiij^e. principal gouernaunce or point to be tretid in this iiij^e. principal partie, for which gouernaunce summe of the lay peple vniustli and vnworthili blamen and vndirnymen the clergie, is this: In the clergie ben dyuerse statis and degrees of ouerte and netherte; as that aboue manye preestis soortid to gidere in to oon cuntre or diocise is oon bischop forto ouer se and attende that alle tho preestis lyue and do as it longith to hem bi her preesthode, and forto iuge querelis and pleintis and causis and stryues, if eny such rise among summe of tho preestis, and forto redresse the wrongis whiche preestis doon to her parischenys or ministris, if thei eny such doon; and aboue manie bischopis of a larger cuntre or of a prouynce is oon archibishop for to in lijk maner ouer se and attende that tho bischopis lyue and do as it longith to hem bi her bischophode, and for to iuge querelis and pleintis and debatis, if eny suche arise among tho bischopis, and forto redresse the wrongis whiche tho bischopis doon to her preestis, if thei eny such doon; and in lijk maner aboue manye archibischopis is oon patriark forto ouer se and reule and amende the gouernancis of tho archibischopis; and aboue manie and alle patriarkis is oon pope forto ouerse and reule and amende the goueruauncis of patriarkis, and forto redresse wrongis doon to eny persoon in the clergie bi eny other persoon in the clergie, if ther upon to him be mad compleint that the netherer iugis wolen not do to him riȝt. Al this now rehercid gouernaunce and policie in the clergie summe

of the lay peple deemen and seien to be nauȝt, and that it is brouȝt yn bi the deuel and anticrist; so that thei wolen alle preestis to be in oon degre, and noon of hem be aboue other of hem, and thei wolen that vndir preestis be dekenys, and no mo ordris, statis, or degrees in the clergie at al.[1] And bi cause that suche bifore rehercid statis and degrees aboue preestis ben in the clergie, thei bacbiten and detracten the clergie, cleping the hiȝe pope anticrist and cleping alle the othere louȝer rehercid statis aboue preestis the anticristis lymes or membris.[2]

Five conclusions shall be adduced in favour of this institution. THE FIRST CONCLUSION. It is not forbidden by Scripture. Certain texts shall be discussed.

But that this bering an hond upon the clergie and that this blamyng doon to the clergie is vniust and vntrewe, y schal proue in this present iiij^{e}. parti bi fyue conclusiouns, of which the first is this: Holi Scripture weerneth not and lettith not the now rehercid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce. That this conclusioun is trewe y proue thus: If eny text of Scripture schulde lette and weerne the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce, it schulde be oon of these textis whiche schulen now suyngli be tretid in this present chapiter. But so it is, that noon of hem so werneth and lettith, as anoon suyngli schal be schewid. Wherfore Holi Scripture lettith not and werneth not the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce.

Those texts which forbid our calling any one on earth master considered.

Aȝens the seid iiij^{e}. gouernaunce mai be argued bi textis of Holi Scripture in the Newe Testament, whiche sownen sumwhat (thouȝ litle) aȝens the seid iiij^{e}. go-

[1] Wiclif is the fountain-head of this opinion: "Unum audacter assero, quod in primitiva ecclesia vel tempore Pauli suffecerunt duo ordines clericorum, scilicet sacerdos atque diaconus. Similiter dico quod tempore Pauli fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus . . . . . Tunc enim adinventa non fuit distinctio papæ et cardinalium, patriarcharum et archiepiscoporum, episcoporum," &c. *Dial.* lib. iv. c. 15.

[2] Thus Oldcastle, according to Capgrave, (*Chron.* p. 306,) said: "The pope is antechrist; bischoppis be his membris, and freres be his tayl."

CHAP. I.

uernaunce, of whiche textis tweyne ben these. It is writun, Math. xxiij^e. c̃., thus: *Nile ȝe be clepid maister, for oon is ȝoure maystir, and alle ȝe ben britheren; and nyle ȝe clepe to ȝou a fader on erthe, for oon is ȝoure Fader in heuens.* Also Iames, iij^e. c̃.: *Nile ȝe manye be mad maistris, witing that ȝe taken the more doom, for alle we offenden in manye thingis: if eny man not offendith in word, this is a perfit man.* Wher of semeth folewe this, that it is forbodun bi these textis eny man wilne or suffre him silf be clepid maister. But open it is, that noman can take upon him to be in eny state or degre of the seid politik iiij^e. gouernaunce, but if he theryn and therbi take upon him a thing wherbi he is verili and trewli maister to hise netherers; and therfore mai verili, truli, and iustli be clepid maister of hem. Wherfore it is not leeful eny such state, dignite, or degree be in the clergie, sithen it is not leeful eny man be clepid maister.

These texts prove too much, if they prove anything at all. A priest is as much master of a deacon, as an archbishop is of bishops.

Answere herto is this: Certis if the arguyng fourmed vpon these ij. now rehercid textis were worth, therbi wolde folewe that it were not leeful eny preesthode to be. Forwhi ech preest is ouer and aboue a deken, as it is open, Acts vj^e. c̃.; and ech deken is ouer and aboue a lay persoon, euen as a bischop is aboue a preest and an archibischop aboue an other bischop, as it is here aftir open in the next chapiter by Dynys in his epistle to the monk Demophil.[1] Wherfore ech man, whanne he takith preesthode, takith a ground and a foundement wherbi he is verili and iustli a maister, and mai therbi, if he wole, be clepid verili and iustli a maister, sithen ech man mai iustli take and vse his riȝt or that that bifallith to him bi riȝt. And so if it be not leeful a man be clepid maister, it

[1] *Domophil*, MS. See below, p. 425.

is vnleeful eny man be preest; which is aȝens Scripture plein ynouȝ bi textis alleggid aftir in the [ij^{e}.][1] chapiter of this iiij^{e}. partie. And therfore this arguyng now maad is nauȝt, proceding vpon the mys vndirstonding of tho ij. textis.

If it were unlawful in any sense to call a man our master, by like reasoning from the same text we might call no one father, which is contrary to Christ's words elsewhere. The true meaning of this text explained, and shown to be consistent with our having other masters under one principal master.

If the first of tho ij. textis were so streiteli to be vndirstonde, that it were vnleeful eny man be clepid maister, thanne for the ij^{e}. parti of thilk same hool text sownyng in lijk wise it schulde be vnleeful eny man to[2] be clepid fadir, sithen in the ij^{e}. party of the same text it is writun, Math. xxiij^{e}. c̃., thus: *Nile ȝe calle to ȝou fadris vpon erthe, for oon is ȝoure Fader which is in heuen.* And ȝit theraȝens meetith the wordis of Crist in an other place, Mark, x^{e}. c̃., where he seith thus: *Worschipe thou thi fader and thi modir;* and Effecies, vj^{e}. c̃., Poul seith thus: *Honoure thou thi fadir and thi modir.* How euer wolden Crist and Poul calle persoones fadir and modir to me, but if tho persoones weren verrili fader and modir to me, and but if it were also leeful to me forto calle hem fadir and modir to me, as thei ben verili fadir and modir to me? And so open it is herbi, that the firste parti of the first text, which i^{e}. parti is this, *Nile ȝe be clepid maistris,* is not to be vnderstonde so streitly as he sowneth, no more[3] than the ij^{e}. partie of the same first text, *Nile ȝe calle to ȝou fadris vpon erthe,* is to be take and vndirstonde so stritli[4] as he sowneth. And sithen the iij^{e}. parti of the hool rehercid text declarith how the ij^{e}. partie is to be vndirstonde, that is to seie thus: "Nile ȝe calle "to ȝou ȝoure principal fadir upon erthe;" (for whi so meeneth the iij^{e}. partie of the same text, whanne it

[1] A space left in the MS. for the number.

[2] *to* is interlineated by a later hand.

[3] *nomore*, MS. (accidentally ?).

[4] Perhaps a clerical error for *streitli*.

CHAP. I. is seid thus: *Oon is ȝoure Fader in heuen,* that is to seie, oon is ȝoure principal fader in heuen; and ellis thilk seiyng were fals, for as miche as Crist him silf meeneth that we han fadir and moder on erthe in that that he biddith us worschipe fadir and moder on erthe,) therfore so is the first parti of the same hool text to be ariȝt vndirstonde thus: "Nile ȝe be callid " principal maistris, for oon is ȝoure principal maister " in heuen." And herwith al it mai ful weel stonde that we mowen haue othere maistris in this world vndir thilk principal maistir. Forwhi aftir the wordis of Seint Poul, Rom. xiij^{e}. c̃., in the bigynnyng,[1] we mowen and ouȝten haue lordis to us in this world vndir God principal Lord aboue; and therfore miche rather we mowen and ouȝten haue to us maistris vnder God the principal mayster aboue. And that we mowen and ouȝten haue lordis aboue us witnessith Seint Peter, i^{e}. Peter ij^{e}. c̃., thus: *Honoure ȝe the king: seruauntis, be ȝe suget in al drede to lordis, not oonli to gode and to milde, but also to tirantis.* And Poul witnessith the same, Effes. vj^{e}. c̃., seiyng thus: *Seruauntis, obeische ȝe to fleischli lordis with drede and trembling in symplenes of ȝoure herte as to Crist, not seruyng at the iȝe as plesing to men, but as seruauntis of Crist doing the will of God by discrecioun, with good wil seruyng as to the Lord, and not as to men.* And in lijk maner Poul witnessith, i^{e}. Thim. vj^{e}. c̃., thus: *What euer seruauntis ben vndir ȝok, deeme thei her lordis worthi al honour.* Also hem that made hem silf seme wijse forto condempne mennis lawe mad and forto iustifie that to such lawe

[1] "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God." Rom. xiii. 1. The actual word *lords,* which Pecock's argument almost requires, does not occur either in the original or in Wiclif's version.

it were not to obeie, Poul reproueth, i^e. Thim. i^e. c., bi a fair processe. And thus miche is ynouȝ for the dew vndirstonding of the first text takun into obieccion.

The text of St. James explained.

The dew vnderstonding of the ij^e. text takun into the same obieccioun, whanne it is seid, *Nile ȝe manye be mad maistris*, is this: Iames seiyng and knowing weel that it is hard forto execute perfitli and dewli eny office or state or degre of ouerte, and therfore perilose it is to ful manye that eny of hem be take into such office, state, or degre, (namelich sithen Scripture ther upon, Sapience vj^e. c., seith ful gastfulli thus: *Men of power schulen myȝtili suffre tormentis;* and sithen also "ech of us alle offenden in ful manye "thingis" of lasse hardnes to performe than ben the deedis dew to suche statis or officis, in so myche that no man kan kepe him fro yuel speche and "reule his "owne tunge," as Iames seith, and experience it schewith, and therfore miche hardir it schulde be[1] him to reule othere mennys tungis and othere mennys membris and deedis to gidere and his owne,) therfore Seint Iame was moued for to counseile not to ech man but to manye of alle men, that thei take not vpon hem to be maistris, that is to seie, state and dignite and degre of ouerte; so that he leeueth to ech mannys owne doom and conscience, whether he be of thilk ouer freel manye or of thilk ouer freel multitude or no. And therfore it is to be markid weel how Iames spekith in hise wordis as in sentence thus: *Manie ȝe, nyle be callid maistris;* as thouȝ he seide thus, "O manye "of ȝou, awaite ȝe that ȝe be not mad maistris."[2] And the perel anoon forthwith aftir he settith therto thus: *Witing that ȝe taken the more doom; for*

---

[1] *be* is interlineated in a later hand. Perhaps *to* should be added.

[2] St. James' words are: μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε.

CHAP. I.

alle[1] *we offenden in manye thingis. If eny man not offendith in word, this is a perfit man.* And ferthermore Iames schewith there in processe next folewing how hard it is a man to reule his tunge, that he not therbi synne. And bi this setting forth of this processe, conteynyng the cause and the perel for which he seide, *Nile ȝe manye be clepid maistris,* is schewid weel that Iames meeneth ther yn as he is now expowned to meene. And this meenyng of Iames is in no thing aȝens the seid iiij^{e}. politik gouernaunce had and vsid in the clergie of the chirche.

ij. CHAPITER.

Another objection derived from three texts of the New Testament. The first text. (1 Pet. v.)

AN other obiecciouu mai be mad, thouȝ with no greet colour, bi iij. othere textis of the Newe Testament. Of which thre oon is writun i^{e}. Pet. v^{e}. c̃., thus, where Peter spekith to suche preestis as he was him silf, seiyng to hem thus: *Feede ȝe the flok of God that is among ȝou, et cætera, not as hauyng lordschip in the clergie, but that ȝe be mad ensaumple of the flok of wil.*

The second text. (1 Cor. iii.)

The ij^{e}. text is writun i^{e}. Cor. iij$_{e}$. c̃., thus: *Summe of ȝou seith, 'I am of Poul,' an other seith, 'But I 'am of Apollos.'*[2] *Whether ȝe ben not men? What therfore is Apollos,*[2] *and what Poul? Thei ben ministris*[3] *to him, to whom ȝe han bileeued.*

From these texts it might seem that no priest

By these ij. textis, oon of Peter, the other of Poul, it myȝte seme euereither of hem wille[4] that no preest

[1] It deserves notice that the original reading was *all,* (a form hardly occurring elsewhere in the MS.), but the change into *alle* seems due to the original scribe.

[2] *Appollo,* MS. (twice).

[3] *the ministris,* MS. (first hand).

[4] *willed,* MS. (first hand), apparently.

schulde holde him silf to be eny ouerer to the lay peple bi his preesthode which he berith to ward hem; but schulde rather in that be a mynystre to the peple, as he is in that a mynystre of God. CHAP. II. should rule, but rather serve his flock.

The iij^e. text is writun, Math. xx^e. c̃., where Crist seide to hise disciplis thus: *ȝe witen that princis of hethen men ben lordis of hem, and thei that ben gretter vsen power on hem; it schal not be so among ȝou, but who euer wole be mad gretter amang*[1] *you, be he ȝoure mynystre, and who euer wole among ȝou be the firste, he schal be ȝoure seruaunt; as Mannys Sone came not to be serued but to serue, and forto ȝeue his lijf redempcioun for manie.* Lijk processe thoruȝ out is wrytun, Mark x^e. c̃. Out of this processe semeth to folewe, that preestis ouȝten not haue ouerte among hem silf, oon of hem vpon an other of hem, neither eny preest ouȝte haue ouerte vpon eny lay persoon of hise neiȝboris. The third text. (Matt. xx.) This text seems to forbid any lordship of priests over each other, or over the laity.

To this obiecciouu it mai by summe men be seid, that he procedith not aȝens the present purpos. Forwhi tho textis sownen oonli into this, that no preest in that and for that, that he is preest to the lay peple, ouȝte be to hem an ouerer, but rather to hem a mynystre, as in that he is a mynystre of God: and neuerneither of tho textis lettith preestis to be to the lay peple, but rather euereither of hem inplieth[2] in him silf that preestis ouȝten be to the peple. And if this be trewe, certis thanne bi lijk skile neuerneither of tho ij. textis lettith eny bischop be to preestis, or eny archibischop be to bischopis, or eny pope be to alle archibischopis. Wherfore these ij. textis proceden not aȝens the seid iiij^e. principal politik gouernaunce as in this, that a bischop be to preestis, Some may be inclined to say that this text does not forbid that there should be priests, bishops, archbishops, and a pope at all, but only that they should not be lords over the flock or over each other.

[1] Perhaps a clerical error for *among*.

[2] So written at full length in the MS.

CHAP. II.

and an archibischop be to bischopis, neither[1] a pope be to archibischopis; but oonli aȝens the seid politik gouernaunce in this, that a preest be ouerer to the lay peple, and a bischop be ouerer to preestis, and an archibischop be ouerer to bischopis, and the pope be ouerer to archibischopis.

But this reply is unsound; for it appears from St. Paul and St. Dionysius that the clergy had lordship over their flocks and punished them, when occasion required.

Aȝens this answere mai be argued sufficientli thus: Sithen a bischop, in that[2] he is bischop to a preest, is not euen with the preest; (forwhi thanne the preest were a very bischop to the bischop, as he is bischop to the preest; and the bischop, in that that he is bischop to a preest, is not ouerer[3] to the preest, as now it is supposid these ij. textis so wole;) it muste needis folewe bi the seid answere the meenyng of these ij. textis to be this, that a bischop in that that he is bischop and the[4] preest in that that he is preest to the lay peple ben the netherers to hem; and sithen these textis weernen not bischopis be to preestis, and archibischopis be to bischopis, folewith bi lijk skile these ij. textis forto wilne that if bischopis be, thei as in that ouȝten be netherers to preestis, and archibischopis, if thei be, ouȝten be netherers to bischopis. But this is vntrewe, forwhi Poul bare him silf so anentis the Corinthies, that he punyschid hem; and also in an other tyme he comaundid hem to be punyschid[5] of othere; and in an othir tyme he thretened hem that he wolde come to hem in ȝerde, that is to seie, in peyne. And so it is, that these deedis ben not deedis of a netherer to his ouerer. Wherfore Poul bi his preesthode or bischophode bering to the lay peple vsid in that ouerte upon hem, and not

---

[1] The construction requires *and*.

[2] Probably we should read *in that that*.

[3] *ouere*, MS. (but words have been erased and transposed).

[4] *the* is interlineated by a later hand: *a* might seem a more probable correction.

[5] *punyhid*, MS.

netherte as being vndir hem. Also Dynys, which, as he witnessith him silf,[1] sizeth the conuersacioun and gouernaunce of Poul and of Iohun Euangelist and of othere Apostlis, seith in his epistle to the monk Demophil[2] thus: *Dekenys ben ouerers to the monk Demophil,*[2] *and preestis ben ouerers to dekenys, and bischopis ben ouerers to preestis, and the apostilis and her successouris ben ouerers to bischopis;*[3] and, as he wole in the other place alleggid, Petir and his successour be[4] ouerers to archibischopis,[5] and that forto punysche bi peyne and correcte hem to whom thei ben ouerers, as is open bi the processe of the now alleggid epistle of Dynys. Wherfore or Dynys muste be a wrong vndirstondir of Poulis conuersacioun and of Petris conuersacioun and a wrong vndirstonder of her writingis, but if thei meeneden hem in that that thei weren preestis forto be ouerers to hem to whom thei weren preestis. And so herbi open it is, that the now bifore zouun answere to the textis of the ij^e. obieccioun is not trewe.

It is therfore to be seid to tho textis in these maners. To the firste text of hem iij.,[6] which is of

The true reply to these three texts. St. Peter's mean-

[1] See the remarks of Corderius in the note below.

[2] *Domophil*, MS. (twice).

[3] "αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφόριζε, σοὶ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι λειτουργοὶ, καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἱεράρχαι δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι." Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *Epist.* viii. (*ad Demoph. Mon.* Op. tom. ii. p. 113. Ed. Cord.)

[4] *ben*, MS. (first hand).

[5] "καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς οἶσθα, . . . συνελῃλύθαμεν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφόθεος Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Πέτρος ἡ κορυφαία καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θεολόγων ἀκρότης." Id. *De Divin. Nomin.* c. 2. (Op. tom. i. pp. 538, 539.) There is no doubt that this is the place intended by Pecock; how far it answers his purpose the reader must judge. Corderius quite similarly argues: "Nota hinc firmissimum a S. Dionysii auctoritate argumentum pro primatu Petri, et consequenter pontificum Romanorum ejusdem successorum. Describit autem hic, quomodo apostoli cum aliis discipulis, inter quos ipse erat cum Hierotheo, interfuerint exequiis B. Virginis Mariæ." Id. p. 542.

[6] *ij*, MS.

CHAP. II.

ing is that the clergy should use their lordship not for their own profit, but for that of their flocks.

Petir, it[1] is to be seid that sithen bi the same text folewith that preesthode is to be had, as is open ynouȝ bi the letter in the processe there, and sithen the same text weerneth not bischophode and archibischophode and popehode to be had, as is now bifore schewid, and sithen it is now bifore proued that preesthode and bischophode, in that that thei ben preesthode and bischophode, ben ouertees to hem for which thei ben had and vsid, it muste folewe needis that the dew vndirstonding of this text, i^e. Pet. v^e. c̃., is the vndirstonding which is ȝouun bifore in the iij^e. parti of this book, the iiij^e. chapiter, vpon the iij^e. principal processe,[2] which vndirstonding is this: that thouȝ bischopis and archibischopis han ouerte vpon her nethereris, ȝit thei schulden vse her ouerte not at her owne plesaunce oonli or not at her owne glorie or her owne avauntage oonli or principali, but in to the profit and avail of her netherers, as fer forth as the lawe seruying to thilk ouerte wole; and in that thei be not holding lordschip in the clergie, that is to seie, not such lordschip as worldli princis and worldli vndir hem dukis and othere statis ben woned to holde and vse bi tyranry vpon her netherers. And sithen this muste needis be the meenyng of Peter there, it is seid ynouȝ here for dew vndirstonding ther of, that it gooth not aȝens the seid iij^e. principal politik gouernaunce vsid in the clergie of the chirche.

St. Paul means that no one ought to glory for having been taught by one priest rather than by another, since God is the principal agent and man only his minister.

To the ij^e. text, which is of Poul, i^e. Cor. iij^e. c̃., it is to be seid that his dew vndirstonding is this: that noman baptisid or cathezized, that is to seie, tauȝt the feith and the lawe of Crist, ouȝte holde him the holier for that he is baptisid or is so tauȝt and leerid of an holi man, than if he had be so

[1] *it* is interlineated by a later hand.

[2] See p. 300.

baptisid[1] or tauȝt of an vnholi man; neither he ouȝte holde him the better or holier for that he is so baptisid or tauȝt of the holier man, than if he hadde be so baptisid and tauȝt of the lasse holi man; and that bi cause that in these deedis God is the cheef and principal and veri worcher of the principal effect, and the baptiser and cathezizer is a mynystre oonli vndir God forto sette water on the persoon and forto performe a certein entent: (but how and in which wise the preest is mynystre schal be tauȝte more in *The book of baptym* in Latyn and in *The book of penaunce* in Latyn and in *The book of preesthode*;) and more than this can not be had of the proces of Poul there. Wherfore thilk processe of Poul there gooth not aȝens the present purpos had here.

Answere to the iij^e. text is sufficientli maad and sett bifore in the iij^e. partie of this present book, the iiij^e. chapiter, and is lijk to the answere now bifore mad to the firste text in this present chapiter; and therfore who so wole se thilk answere in lengthe, turne he thider.[2] And thus miche now for proof of the firste principal conclusioun in this present iiij^e. partie.

Christ's meaning in the third text has been explained already.

iij. CHAPITER.

THE ij^e. principal conclusion concernyng and biholding the seid iiij^e. principal gouernaunce is this: Doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde weerneth not and lettith not the seid iiij^e. principal gouernaunce sett bifore in the bigynnyng of this present iiij^e. partie. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: If eny doom of kindeli cleer resoun schulde weerne and lette

THE SECOND PRINCIPAL CONCLUSION. Reason does not forbid different ranks of the clergy. Two arguments drawn against them from reason considered, and refuted.

[1] *babtisid*, MS.

[2] See pp. 298–302.

CHAP. III.

the seid iiij^e. gouernaunce, thilk doom of resoun schulde be oon of these ij. whiche now next suyngli schulen be here rehercid. But so it is, that noon of these ij. doomes of resoun weerneth and lettith. Wherfore no doom of cleer resoun it lettith and warneth.

The first argument. Much sin comes from this variety of ranks. Refutation of the argument. Much sin comes equally from the double order of the ministry, which the objectors hold to be lawful.

Moche synne and harme cometh into the clergie and into the layfe fro and bi the seid iiij^e. politik gouernaunce had and vsid in the clergie: wherfore it is not worthi neither leeful it to be had and vsid. Certis this skile and argument is not worth, as ech man mai soone wite, but if he take withinne him and meene openli or priueli that ech gouernaunce and al thing, fro and bi whiche greet synne and harme comen, is[1] vnleeful and not worthi be had and vsid: for out of this now rehercid sentence or proposicioun the argument muste take his strengthe and proof, if he eny such strengthe schulde haue. But so it is, that this now last rehercid sentence or proposicioun is not trewe. Wherfore the now mad skile and argument is not worth. Forwhi if the argument were worth, thanne bi lijk argument and skile ech gouernaunce and ech thing fro which and bi which synne and harme comen weren vnleeful and vnworthi to be had and vsid; and so therbi wolde folewe, that forto haue dekenes ouer the lay peple and forto haue preestis ouere dekenys and ouer the lay peple were vnleeful and not worthi be had and vsid; sithen opèn ynouȝ it is, that in the maner in which synne and yuel cometh fro and bi bischophode and popehode synne and yuel cometh fro and bi bischophode and dekenhode, as pride and extorcioun[2] and coueitise and ambicioun and symonie and suche othere. And ȝit, who euere wole or nyle, Holi Scripture wole that preesthode and

[1] See p. 337, note.

[2] *synne . . . extorcioun* are added in the margin by a later hand, which has made erasures in the text.

dekenhode be had and vsid; and therfore the skile assigned for riȝt doom of resoun, that bischophode and archibischopode and popehode schulden not be, is not riȝt doom of resoun.

Also if thilk doom were a riȝt doom of resoun and thilk assigned argument were good, certis bi like skile and bi lijk doom it wolde folewe that it is vnleeful princehode and duchehode and othere statis vndir hem to be, sithen ful myche synne of pride of coueitise, of ravein, of manslauȝter, of leccherie, of glotenie, of periurie, and manie suche othere synnes comen therbi and therfro, in the maner in which this seid skile and doom takith synne and harme come[1] bi and fro the seid iiij^{c}. principal politik gouernaunce had and vsid in the clergie. And ȝit, who euer wole the contrarie, Holi Scripture approueth weel princehode and duchehode and othere officis vndir hem to be ouer and aboue the comoun peple, as it is open bi what is bifore alleggid in the i^{c}. chapiter of this present iiij^{c}. partie. Wherfore needis it is open, that the seid pretendid skile and doom of resoun is no[2] riȝt doom of resoun.

This argument would also overthrow the variety of ranks of civil government, which Scripture undoubtedly sanctions.

Also of and out and bi this, that God made Lucifer so fair an aungel; and of this, that God ȝaue to him knouwing of his owne fairnes, came ful miche synne and other harme of greet peyne and losse of good in the now supposid maner of speche; also fro and bi this, that God ordeynede Adam and Eue to not ete of a certein tre in Paradise, came in like maner of speche ful myche synne and othir yuel of peyne and losse of good. And of this, that God ȝaue a lawe to the[3] Iewis, came myche synne, as Poul witnessith, Rom. v^{c}. c̃., seiyng thus: *The lawe entrid that gilt schulde*

Also it would accuse God himself, who formed and appointed many things out of which sin arose.

[1] *came*, MS.
[2] *not*, MS. (first hand).
[3] *the* is interlineated by a later (?) hand.

CHAP. III.

be plenteuose; and more pleinli her of Poul spekith, Rom. vij^c. č., bi long processe, that bi occasioun of the oold lawe myche synne came forth, not withstonding that the lawe in it silf was holi and good, as Poul seith there. And of this, that Crist chase Iudas to be his disciple came miche synne. And if alle thes deedis and ordinauncis of God weren therfore vnleeful and vnworthi to be doon, God schulde ther yn be accusid of ful greet defaut, ȝhe, of[1] ful greet wickidnes. Wherfore the bifore pretendid skile for to distroie the seid iiij^c. principal politik gouernaunce in the clergie is no[2] riȝt doom of resoun.

There is nothing in the world, out of which sin does not spring by reason of human frailty.

What thing or deede is ther in this world tretid and vsid bi men, but that ther of mai come, ȝhe, and cometh synne and yuel? Certis noon, as experience schewith and as Scripture witnessith, Sapience xiiij^c. č., where it is seid thus: *Creaturis of God be made into haterede and into temptacioun to the soule of men, and into a trappe*[3] *to the feet of vnwise men.* And therfore God forbede that ech dede and ech gouernaunce schulde be holde nauȝt and badde, if therof and therfro bi mannis freelnes, (forto seie the sothe,) and not bi the thing synne and yuel comen. And thus miche is ynowȝ for vnprouyng of the seid skile pretendid to be good and riȝt doom of resoun.

Evil may come out of a thing in two ways, either as the thing is a cause or an occasion thereof.

Neuertheles here it is vndirstonde, that out and fro and bi a thing or a gouernaunce yuel mai come in ij. wisis. In oon wise, that thilk thing or gouernaunce be cause of the yuel, for as miche as thilk thing or gouernaunce wirchith bi his kinde into the seid yuel: and thanne the yuel cometh out, fro, and bi the seid thing as bi a cause of the same yuel. In an othir wise out, fro, and bi a thing or a gouernaunce yuel mai come, not so that the thing or gouernaunce[4]

---

[1] *ȝhe and of*, MS. (first hand).
[2] *not*, MS. (first hand).
[3] *into trappe*, MS. (first hand).
[4] *the gouernaunce*, MS. (first hand.)

wirchith or makith bi his kinde eny strecching into the yuel, but that sum othir thing, as the freelnes of a mannys wil vsing and entirmeting with the seid gouernaunce, is the wircher and causer of the yuel whilis he entirmetith with the seid gouernaunce. And for as miche as the mannys freel wil schulde not cause the seid yuel, saue whilis and but if he entermetith with the seid gouernaunce, therfore, thouȝ the seid gouernaunce be not cause of the seid yuel, ȝit he is clepid the occasioun of the seid yuel. And al herfore, for the thing which is the cause of the verry yuel schulde not cause thilk yuel, saue whanne and but if he entermete with the seid gouernaunce. So that the cause of a thing is it that wirchith into the thing, that the thing be mad or doon; and the occasioun of a thing is a thing withoute which the cause of the thing wirchith not into the thing, thouȝ it in it silf wirchith not into the same thing.

Evil springs from the ordinance objected against only in the second manner. The true cause of it is the frailty of men, who for unworthy motives promote unworthy persons to church dignities.

Thanne ferther thus: Thouȝ in the ij. now bifore seid dyuerse wisis out, fro, and bi euereither of hem, that is to seie, cause and occasioun, yuel mai be seid come; ȝit verili and in propirist and in trewist maner of speking forto speke in this mater, which maner is the first maner now rehercid, the synne and the yuel cometh not fro and bi the seid politik iiij^{e}. gouernaunce had and vsid in the clergie, but fro and bi mannys natural passiouns and freelnessis and fre wil, aȝens which is not mad sufficient fiȝt and bateil: and fro and bi this as cause, that men for like passiouns and freelnessis not dewli aȝenstondun setten into the state of preesthode, of bischophode, of archibischophode, and of popehode, suche persoones whiche ben not weel proued to be worthi therto, and setten suche persoones as ben vnkunnyng and vnvsid in vertues and suche as ben ouer ȝonge, and that for fleischli loue born toward suche persoones and for worldli mede ȝouun for the avauncing of suche persoones. Certis out of

CHAP. III.

these now seid pointis and bi strengthe of hem comen the bifore rehercid synnes in the first maner, and not out of and bi[1] the seid politik iiij^{e}. gouernance stabilid bi Scripture and bi reson. And therfore thes now rehercid pointis and causis, out of whiche wallen the seid yuelis, ben bi riȝt doom of resoun vnleeful and not worthi to be had and vsid. And so miche proueth resoun.

If any one object to a thing as being the occasion of much sin, he must consider whether the evil or the good of which it is an occasion preponderates. The ordinance objected against is both the cause and the occasion of much good; and no one can securely affirm that the evil, of which it is an occasion only, preponderates.

Also thus: If eny man is aboute forto proue a certein gouernaunce to be vnleeful and not to be had and vsid, by cause that therof in the ij^{e}. maner cometh synne and other harme, he muste therwith se whether of and bi the same gouernaunce cometh in the first or ij^{e}. maner eny vertuose good and other good or no; and whethir al thilk good so comyng fro and bi the seid gouernaunce be more or lasse than is al the yuel comyng bi the same gouernaunce: and but if he can schewe sureli or miche likeli, that al the now seid good so comyng fro and bi the seid gouernaunce, is lasse than is al the now seid yuel comyng oonli in the ij^{e}. maner fro and bi the same gouernaunce, ellis his proof can haue no colur.[2] But so it is, that out, fro, and bi the bifore seid politik gouernaunce of ouerte and netherte had and vsid in the clergie cometh in the firste maner and also in the ij^{e}. maner miche good of vertu, of pees, and of grace, and of blisse, and myche forbarring of synnes, which ellis wolde come forth; as it is open ynow to ech mannys resoun: and no man can make him sure and siker, that fro and bi the seid politik gouernaunce cometh oonli in the ij^{e}. maner more yuel than is the good comyng bi the same gouernaunce, and than is the yuel which schulde come fro and bi the noun hauyng of the same seid gouernaunce. Wherfore no

[1] *out and bi of*, MS.

[2] Probably a clerical error for *colour*.

man mai by this ouer baarli taken meene proue that the seid iiij^{e}. gouernaunce is vnleeful bi this cause oonli, that fro and bi it cometh yuel in the ij^{e}. seid maner oonli.

At the same time, if any institution can be shown to be the proper cause of any evil, it should be abolished, whatever amount of good it may either cause or occasion.

Not withstonding that aftir the trewe speche which in proprist wise ou3te be here in this mater spokun, that is to seie, in the firste maner, no synne or yuel cometh fro and bi the seid politik iiij^{e}. gouernaunce, but fro and bi mennys freelnessis, as is now bifore sumwhat declarid; and ful myche good cometh fro and bi the seid politik gouernaunce in trewist and proprist maner of speche bi these wordis "comyng fro " and bi:" certis if out, fro, and bi eny gouernaunce cometh nedis synne in the firste maner, that is to seie, if thilk gouernaunce schal needis be cause of synne whanne he is had and vsid, sotheli y can not se but that thilk gouernaunce is vnleeful and not to be had and vsid, how euer miche goostli or worldli good schal come in the first or ij^{e}. maner bi the same gouernaunce. Forwhi more is ech synne to be fled that it bi his verry cause be not doon, than eny good goostli or worldli is to be sou3t aftir that it bi his cause or occasioun[1] be doon or bifalle,[2] as it is in othere placis of my writingis cleerli schewid. More declaracioun longing to this mater is sett bifore in the iij^{e}. partie of this present book, the vij^{e}. chapiter.

The second fallacious argument from reason. If the variety of ranks in the clergy had been profitable to the church, Christ its greatest friend would have appointed them, which he did not do.

An other doom of reson is, bi which my3te to manie seme that the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce ou3te not be had in the clergie. Forwhi, if the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce hade[3] be profitable to the clergie and to al the hool chirche of God, Crist him silf bi his owne persoon immediatli and at the next hadde putt in hise daies this iiij^{e}. gouernaunce into the clergie,

[1] *accasioun*, MS.

[2] *bi falle* MS., (without hyphen).

[3] This word is written in a later hand on an erasure: *hadde* is the usual orthography of the MS.

CHAP. III.

or hadde bede expresseli to men that thei schulden rere vp the seid iiij^{e}. gouernaunce into the clergie and into the chirche; namelich sithen Crist loued the clergie and the chirche more than eny othere men euere loueden the clergie, for which loue thei reriden up the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce in the chirche. But so it is, that we mowen not seie and holde that Crist in his owne persoon and in hise daies in this world immediatli puttid into the chirche the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce, neither that he expresseli bade it to be putt into the chirche. Forwhi neuerneither of these ij. thingis ben writun in the Newe Testament. Wherfore the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce is not to be had in the chirche.

Although this argument has been already answered as applied to another matter, yet it may be denied that Christ did not appoint the ranks objected against; for he constituted Peter the head of the Apostles, and the rock of the church.

Answere herto ful good and sufficient is sett bifore in the iij^{e}. partie of this book, the ix^{e}.[1] chapiter, thoruȝout al it what is seid there for answere to the ij^{e}. semyng skile bifore sett there in the same ix^{e}.[1] chapiter. Neuertheles another answere mai be sett to this ij^{e}. semyng doom of resoun here now bifore formed, which answere is this: That Crist willid the seid iiij^{e}. gouernaunce to be rerid up bi prudence of men in the chirche aftir his passing fro this world, and that he allowith and approueth the seid rering up and setting up of the iiij^{e}. gouernaunce bi mennys prudence into the clergie and into the chirche, as if he had so do it immediatli bi his owne persoon. And herto sufficient euidence expresseli is had in the Newe Testament, Iohun the first chapiter, whanne Crist seide to Peter that "he schulde be clepid Cephas," or heed,[2] and Math. xvj^{e}. c̃., whanne Crist seid to Petir thus: *And y seie to thee thou art Peter, and upon this stoon y schal bilde my chirche;* as who euere wole se that these textis prouen and grounden this ij^{e}. answere, go

[1] *vij^{e}.*, MS. (twice). See p. 331, seq.

[2] Pecock imagines that Cephas is connected with κεφαλή; see below.

CHAP. III.

he into the iiij^{e}. chapiter of this present iiij^{e}. partie; for there this is openli schewid, wherbi it is open that the ij^{e}. premysse in this now mad ij^{e}. argument is vntrewe and is to be denyed. And thus myche as here for answere and assoiling to the ij^{e}. semyng doom of resoun aȝens the iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce.

THE THIRD CONCLUSION. Variety of ranks among the clergy is lawful. Proof of the conclusion. It is neither forbidden by Scripture, reason, nor man's law.

The iij^{e}. principal conclusioun concernyng and biholding the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce is this: The seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce spokun in the bigynnyng of this present iiij^{e}. parti is leeful. That this present conclusioun is trewe y proue this: Ech gouernaunce or conuersacioun or policie, which Holi Scripture werneth not and forbedith not, doom of cleer and weel disposid natural resoun weerneth not and forbedith not, mannys lawe weerneth not and forbedith not, is leeful and not worthi be vndirnome and blamed. But so it is, that the now bifore rehercid iiij^{e}. gouernaunce, conuersacioun, and policie vsid in the clergie is not weerned and forbodun bi Holi Scripture, neither bi doom of resoun, neither bi mannys lawe. Wherfore needis folewith, that the now bifore rehercid iiij^{e}. politik gouernaunce had and vsid in the clergie of Goddis chirche in erthe is leeful ynouȝ, and is not worthi be vndirnome and blamed. The firste premysse of this argument muste needis be grauntid. Forwhi al forbodun thing is forbodun bi Holy Scripture, or by doom of resoun, or bi mannys lawe; for as myche as we kunnen fynde no mo autentik forbeders. But so it is, that al vnleeful thing is forbodun. Wherfore al vnleeful thing is forbodun bi Holi Scripture, or bi doom of resoun, or bi mannys lawe. And thanne ferther thus, al vnleeful thing is forbodun of Holi Scripture, or bi doom of resoun, or by mannys lawe. Wherfore al not forbodun bi Holi Scripture, bi resoun, or bi mannis lawe, is not vnleeful. And so the firste premysse of the principal argument is weel and sufficientli proued. That the ij^{e}. premysse of the

CHAP. III.

same principal argument is trewe, it is open bi al what is bifore going in this present iiij^e. partie for proofis of the first and ij^e. principal conclusions concernyng and biholding the iiij^e. seid gouernaunce. Wherfore this present iij^e. principal conclusioun thus folewing out and bi these ij. premyssis is needis trewe.

iiij. CHAPITER.

THE FOURTH CONCLUSION. Scripture allows the polity in question. One high-priest governed the whole Jewish church, as the pope now rules the whole Christian church.

THE iiij^e. principal conclusioun concernyng and biholding the seid iiij^e. principal gouernaunce is this: Holi Scripture bothe in the Oold Testament and in the Newe allowith[1] the seid iiij^e. principal gouernaunce. That this conclusioun is trewe, y may proue bi ij. principal argumentis, of which oon is this: In the Oold Testament God ordeyned oon bischop to be aboue in reule and iurisdiccion to alle the preestis and dekenis, and so to alle the clergie in Goddis chirche being thanne; euen as the pope is now oon persoon aboue in reule and[2] in iurisdiccioun to alle preestis and dekenys and to al the clergie in the chirche of God being now, as it is open. And so, thouȝ bicause al the cuntre in which the Iewis in tho daies dwelliden was not but litil, (for it was not so large as is the rewme of pure Englond,) and preestis and dekenis weren fewe thanne in noumbre, it was no nede that manie bischopis schulden be thanne upon dyuerse multitudis of preestis, and that manie archibischopis schulden be thanne upon dyuerse multitudis of bischopis; and nede askith now among Cristen men forto so be, bi cause that Cristen men occupien now manie rewmes and biȝende grete sees and a this side grete sees, and therfore as ther

[1] *allowith and approueth*, MS. first hand).

[2] *and* is interlineated in a later hand.

yn the now seid dyuersitie of thilk[1] oold politik gouernaunce werneth not neither contrarieth this newe politik gouernaunce;—ȝit the politik gouernaunce being thanne in the oold clergie and the politik[2] gouernaunce being now in the newe clergie accorden in this, that aboue preestis and dekenys be a bischop, and aboue the al hool clergie be oon heed, being oon persoon and hiȝest of al the clergie; and so thilk oold politik gouernaunce ordeyned bi God him silf allowith and approueth and helpith to conferme this newe iiij^{e}. politik gouernaunce vsid and had in the clergie of the chirche now being. Certis no text or processe of the old lawe can be founde forto in eny worth sowne aȝens this bifore rehercid politik gouernaunce of ouerte and netherte in the clergie of the Cristen chirche; and if eny such text or processe be pretendid to so sowne, lete him come forth and schewe him silf, that to him be maad answere. CHAP. IV.

That Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament allowith[3] this same now seid gouernaunce, y mai proue thus: Holi Writt of the Newe Testament makith mensioun, Iohun firste chapiter, that Crist seide to Symount Petir thus: *Thou art Symount the sone of Iohanna, thou shalt be clepid Cephas*, or heed; and thanne Iohun settith to this, "which is interpretid, Petir;" and i^{e}. Cor. ix^{e}. c̃. in the bigynnyng, and i^{e}. Cor. xv^{e}.[4] c̃. in the bigynnyng, and Galat. ij^{e}. c̃. toward the myddis, Poul clepid Peter Cephas; and as Ierom witnessith,[5] Christ appointed Peter to be head of the Christian clergy.

[1] *tho thilk*, MS.

[2] *the oold politik*, MS.

[3] *allowith and approueth*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *xj^{e}.*, MS.

[5] Pecock's blunders are really unpardonable: what St. Jerome does say is this:—"In evangelio et in aliis Pauli epistolis et in hac quoque ipsa (ad Galatas) modo *Cephas*, modo *Petrus* scribitur. Non quo aliud significet Petrus, aliud Cephas: sed quod quam nos Latine et Græce *petram* vocemus, hanc Hebræi et Syri propter linguæ inter se viciniam *Cephan* nuncupent." S. Hieron. in Ep. ad Gal. lib. i. c. 2. (Op. tom. vii. p. 409. Ed. Vall.)

CHAP. IV.

Cephas is no word of Hebrew, but it is a word of Grew, in which langage it[1] is as myche to seie as *heed;* and it is also a word of Sire tunge, in which it is as miche to seie as *fundament,* or *ground,* or *stable.* Thanne her vpon y argue thus: Peter was heed, in the maner in which noon of the othere Apostlis was heed: for ellis cause hadde be noon good, whi Crist schulde haue seid so singulerli to him and not to othere thus: *Thou schalt be callid heed;* and herwith it is trewe, that no thing is an heed but of sum certeyn bodi; wherfore of sum bodi Petir was heed, of which bodi noon of the othere apostlis was heed. And ferther thus: This bodi was not other than peple; wherfore of peple Peter was heed, in maner in which noon other Apostle was heed. And sithen ech Apostle was heed of oon certeyn parcel of peple, or ellis of alle the lay peple of the world iointli with hise felawis, it folewith nedis that Petir was heed of al the clergie, and so of alle preestis and of al the lay partie; for in noon other wise it can be ȝouun that he was heed in a dyuers and different maner fro ech other Apostle, and in which maner noon other Apostle was heed.

Whether Peter was made head of the church during Christ's life on earth, or after his ascension by appointment of the Apostles, or after his own death in the persons of his successors in the Roman see, in any case this headship was ordained by divine providence.

Which thing thus concludid and proued had and grauntid, it is to be argued ferther therof thus: Peter was heed of the chirche of God in erthe, for ellis the bifore sett wordis of Crist seid to Peter, Iohun i^{e}. c̃., hadden not be trewe. Wherfore Peter was thus heed, whilis Crist lyued here in erthe; or ellis aftir Cristis ascencioun, whilis Petir in his owne persoon lyued; or ellis he was thus heed in hise successouris, after that Peter was deed. If thou graunte the firste, that Peter was heed of the Apostlis and of the chirche, whilis Crist lyued, thanne thou grauntist that Crist him silf and bi him silf ordeyned and made

[1] *it* is interlineated in a later hand.

Peter to be so heed. And skile was ther noon, whi Peter in his owne persoon was so mad to be heed in his lijf, but that lijk good skile or more nede was, that aftir his deeth he schulde haue summe successouris in to the same cure and office. Wherfore it is also therbi to be grauntid. If thou graunte not the firste, but the ij^{e}. or the iij^{e}., that Peter was maad to be so heed aftir Cristis ascencioun, and that bi the eleccioun and ordinaunce of the Apostlis and of the clergie; or ellis that al the while Petir him silf was bischop of Rome, he was not thus[1] heed ouer al the chirche of God, but that the successouris of Petir in the chirche of Rome weren heedis to al the chirche of God, and that bi eleccioun[2] and ordinaunce of men:—ȝit certis thou maist not seie nay, but this was doon bi Goddis puruyaunce and prouydence, and bi Goddis welwilling that it[3] schulde be doon; in as myche as he denouncid bifore and bihiȝte bifore in maner of laud to Peter that it schulde be doon, whanne he seide to Peter, Iohun i^{e}. c̃., *Thou shalt be clepid heed;* and ellis also Poul wolde not as in remembring of this promys maad to[3] Peter have clepid him so ofte "heed." And so folewith that this, that oon persoon successour to Petir was bi processe of tyme heed of al the chirche, as the pope is now heed, was of the wil and prouydence of God: and thus it may not be ascapid, but that Scripture of Cristis bifore denouncing and of Cristis bifore biheting groundith that popehode[4] is of the wil of Crist to be had in sum persoon to be chose as the successour of Petir. CHAP. IV.

The divinely appointed primacy of Peter involves the idea of lower headships in the

And thanne ferther thus: If Crist wolde Petir or hise successouris to stonde in heedhode of al the chirche in erthe, that is to seie, in popehode of al the

[1] *thus* is added in the margin by a later hand.

[2] *the eleccioun*, MS. (first hand).

[3] *it* is interlineated in a later hand; and similarly *to* below.

[4] *the popehode*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. IV.

church, as patriarchs, archbishops, &c.

chirche in erthe, (and this Crist wolde not ordeyne or purueie to be ordeyned saue for sum skile and resoun,) it folewith that in the same now seid weelwilling of Crist is includid and vndirstonde, that he wolde in the same or in lijk weelwilling that as the chirche of God encrecid in erthe in noumbre and multitude of persoones, so othere louȝer heedis vndir nethe Petir or his successour schuden be in the chirche in erthe, mo or fewer, aftir that the noumbre of hem schulde suffice into the good reule of the chirche. And so folewith that in this, that Crist seide to[1] Peter, *Thou shalt be clepid heed,* is includid not oonli this, that Peter and hise successouris schulden be heed of al the chirche in erthe or that hise successouris schulden so be, but also that vndirnethe the hiȝest heed schulden be louȝer heedis, as patriarkis, primatis, archibischopis, and bischopis, seruyng and laboring into lijk eende for which Peter or hise successouris weren ordeyned for to be the heed, that is to seie, the hiȝest reuler in the chirche of God in erthe.

Christ declared Peter to be the rock on which the church should be built. No other interpretation of his words is admissible, as appears from the general tenour of Christ's declaration and from the immediate context.

The ij^e^. argument into the proof of this present iiij^e^. principal conclusioun is this: Math. xvj^e^. c̃., whanne Peter hadde seid to Crist thus: *Thou art the Sone of lyuyng God,* Crist seide to Peter thus: *Blessid art thou, Symount Bariona, for fleisch and blood schewid not this to thee, but my Fader which is in heuene. And y seie to thee, for thou art Petir, and upon this stoon y schal bilde my chirche, and the ȝatis of helle schulen not haue the maistrie aȝens hir. And to thee y schal ȝeue the keies of the kingdom of heuene; and what euer thing thou schalt binde vpon erthe schal be bounde in heuene, and what eni*[2] *thing thou*

---

[1] *to* is interlineated in a later and.

[2] Written on an erasure, and apparently a clerical error for *euer,* which occurs in both forms of Wiclif's version; but Pecock has here deviated from it more than he commonly does.

schalt louce vpon erthe schal be lousid in heuene. And thouȝ summe men vndirstonden in this processe bi this stoon the persoon of Crist and not the persoon of[1] Petir,[2] whanne it is seid thus: *And y seie to thee, thou art Petir, and vpon this stoon y schal bilde my chirche, and the gatis of helle, et cætera;* and summe othere vndirstonden bi this stoon the feith which Peter thanne knoulechid to Crist,[3] certis it is miche[4] more likeli that bi the stoon the persoon of Peter schulde be vndirstonde, rather than the persoon of Crist or eny other thing than the persoon of Peter. Forwhi in the clausul going next bifore the hool clausul, in which it is spokun of the stoon, Crist spak to Petir and of Petir, seiyng thus, *And y seie to thee, for thou art Petir;* also in the tweyne clausulis, next folewing the hool clausul conteyning the speche of the stoon, Crist spake to Peter and of Petir, seiyng thus, *And to thee y schal ȝeue the keies of the kingdom of heuene*; and eftsoone next thus, *And what euer thing thou schalt binde, et cætera.* Wherfore it is at moost[5] likeli to be trewe, that the myddil clausul, closid bitwixe these now rehercid clausulis, was seid to Petir and of Petris persoon; ȝhe, and ȝit miche the more herfore, for ellis this clausul, *And y seie to thee, for thou art Peter,* hadde be seid in waast and in veyn to Petir and of Petris persoon, and hadde be seid vnpertynently and vnhangingli fro the materis of the

---

[1] *of* is interlineated in a later hand.

[2] "Super hanc, inquit, petram quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam." S. August. in Joh. *Tract.* 124. "Super hanc petram, id est, super me ædificabo ecclesiam meam." S. Anselm. *in loco.*

[3] "τῇ πέτρᾳ . . . . τουτέστιν τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας." S. Chrysost. *in loco.* For more information respecting the patristic interpretations of this text, see Barrow, *On the Pope's Suprem.*, pp. 59, 60, Lond. 1687, from whom these passages are taken.

[4] *miche* is interlineated in a later hand.

[5] *the moost*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. IV.

clausulis folewing and afore going, and as a thing seid not to purpos, but if the clausulis ioyned therto weren also seid of Petiris persoon. And so therfore the hool clausul, in which is mensioun of the stoon, was seid of Petiris persoon.

Confirmation of this interpretation. Any other view of the text would make Christ speak to no purpose, and as no wise man would speak.

Confirmacioun into this same is this: If y were to seie to my felawe, that y wolde do eny thing to myn owne persoon; (as that y wolde drinke or ete or slepe), wherto schulde y seie next bifore to him thus: "Thou art in this place, or thou art there, or "thou art Iohun or William, y schal do this thing "or that thing, as that y schal dyne or drinke or "slepe?" Certis it schulde not bicome me or eny man, having ful smal witt and discrecioun, forto so inpertynentli[1] speke, and forto sette to gidere in speche maters not hanging to gidere. Wherfore sithen miche rathir we ouȝten not bere an honde that Crist spake inpertinentli, and in such maner which bisemeth not eny man other than a fool forto speke, (namelich, withoute eny nede of the better therto dryuyng or more sownyng than to the contrarie,) it muste needis folewe that the seid hool myddil clausul (speking of the stoon) Crist spak to Peter and of Petiris persoon, and not of his owne persoon or of eny othir thing dyuers fro Petiris persoon; euen as in the clausul next bifore going and in the ij. clausulis next folewing aftir the seid hool clausul Crist spake of Petris persoon.

This interpretation being admitted, it follows that the papal polity, with its subordinate patriarchs, archbishops, &c., is of divine appointment.

Vpon which thing thus concludid and proued y argue ferther in lijk maner, as y haue argued bifore in the next bifore going principal argument thus: If Crist bihiȝte that he wolde upon Peter bilde his chirche, y aske whether Crist meened that he wolde bilde his chirche upon the persoon of Peter, whilis that Crist lyued here, or aftir Cristis ascencioun; or ellis that

[1] So written at length in the MS.

CHAP. IV.

Crist wolde bilde his chirche not upon the persoon of Peter, but upon hise successouris? Oon of these thre thou muste needis graunte; and which euer of these iij. thou wolte graunte, therof folewith weel that it is the wil of God, that upon tho, whiche ben chose in the chirche to be the successouris of Peter, Crist bildid his chirche in erthe. And therof folewith, as it is in lijk maner dryue and concludid in the next bifore going argument, that it is and was the wil of Crist and his prouydence and puruyaunce, that with this hiȝest heed of the chirche schulden be louȝer heedis oon aboue an other, and in the multitude which the good reule of the chirche bi resoun wolde aske. And bi these now bifore mad argumentis the iiij^{e}. principal conclusioun of this iiij^{e}. partie is sufficientli proued.

Also the New Testament expressly sanctions a monarchical form of government among the Christian laity, and as the same need or utility of such government exists among clergy and laity, it sanctions by implication a monarchical, *i.e.*, a papal polity among the clergy.

The iij^{e}. argument into the same iiij^{e}. principal conclusioun is this: Holi Writt of the Newe Testament wole that in the lay partie of Cristen peple be ouerers and netherers fro the louȝest ordre into the hiȝest aboue the comoun peple, as is open i^{e}. Pet. ij^{e}. c̃., where Peter seith thus: *Be ȝe suget to ech creature for God, either to the king, as to him that is hiȝer in state; either to dukis, as to thilk that ben sent of him to the vengeaunce of mys doers and to the preising of gode men; for so it is the wille of God, et cætera.* And in like maner it is writun, Rom. xiij^{e}. c̃., where Poul seith thus: *Euery soule be suget to the hiȝer powers, for ther is no power but of God, et cætera. Therfore he that ȝenstondith power ȝenstondith the ordinaunce of God, et cætera. For princis ben not to the drede*[1] *of good werk, but of yuel, et cætera, for he is the mynystre of God, et cætera.* And Crist him silf accordauntli therto in the Gospel, Math. xxij^{e}. c̃., seith thus: *ȝelde ȝe tho thingis whiche ben of Cesar to Cesar, and whiche ben of God to God;* and in an

[1] *to drede*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. IV.

other place, Iohun xix^e. c̃., Crist seide to Pilat thus: *Thou schuldist not haue power into me, but if it were ȝouun to thee from aboue,* that is to seie, fro God; accordingli to it that Poul seith, Rom. xiij^e. c̃., thus: *Ther is no power, but of God, et cætera.* But so it is, that Holi Writt wole not such ouerte and netherte in dyuerse statis be so as is now rehercid, saue for sum special cause and nede founde in the lay peple, and asking that thilk ouerte and netherte be; and thilk same or lijk miche cause and nede forto lijk wise aske is founde in the clergie, which or how miche is founde in the layfe, as schal be schewid anoon aftir in the next chapiter. Wherfore folewith that ther yn and in that, that Holi Scripture wole openli such dyuersite of statis and degrees be in the lay parti, and for a cause aftir in the next chapiter to be rehercid, he wole lijk weel priueili lijk dyuersite of statis and degrees be in the clergie for lijk cause there founde, namelich sithen who euer biddith openli ouȝwhere eny thing to be doon for a cause or nede wole priueli and menyngli in the same bidding lijk thing be[1] doon in othere placis of his reuling, where is the same cause and nede or lijk cause and nede. These iij. argumentis sufficen for prouyng of this present iiij^e. principal conclusioun.

Other arguments might be adduced, on which however little stress can be laid. One is that Timothy and Titus were by the authority of Paul ordained bishops, having priests under them, as appears by his epistles; and that such ordinations are to be regarded examples of a general apostolical constitution.

Othere argumentis myȝten be mad in to the prouyng of the same iiij^e. conclusioun; but bi cause thei mowen esili and liȝtli be assoilid bi riȝt likely colour, therfore y sette not miche bi hem. Neuertheles y schal sette forth hem heere, that men mowen se how tho argumentis mowen colorabili ynouȝ be assoilid. The Apostilis of Crist maden suche preestis, whiche schulden vnder hem make othere preestis vpon the lay peple. Forwhi Thymothe, a disciple of Poul, was mad a preest of Poul, as it is open i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃., where it

[1] *to be*, MS. (first hand).

is seid to him thus: *Nile thou litil charge the grace which is in thee, that is ȝouun to thee bi prophecie with putting on of the hondis of a preest;* and also ij^e. Thim. i^e. c̃., Poul seide to Thymothie thus: *I moneste thee, that thou reise aȝen the grace of God that is in thee bi the setting of myn hondis.* And Tite, an other disciple of Poul, was maad preest, as it is open Tite i^e. c̃., where Poul seide to Tite thus: *For cause of this thing y lefte thee at Crete, that thou amende tho thingis that failen, and that thou ordeyne preestis bi citees, as also y disposid to*[1] *thee.* Certis, sithen Tite had power forto make preestis, he was at the leest a preest him silf. Neuertheless ferther thus: Sithen Tite was such a preest, that Poul bade him for to make and ordeyne othere preestis and forto correcte defautis as weel as forto moneste, as is open bi the now alleggid text, and noon persoon hath power to comaunde or correcte an other being in euen and in like state and degre with him, (forwhi whi schulde he thanne more correcte the other, than he schulde be correctid of the other?) it folewith that Tite was such a preest, that he was aboue othere preestis vndir him. And sithen ech preest being bi his preesthode aboue othere preestis is a bischop, it folewith that Tite was a bischop aboue othere louȝer preestis being vndir him, and that bi the entent and purpos of Seint Poul there. And sithen which oon in preesthode Tite was, such oon Tymothie was, for as[2] miche as Thymothie was as reuerent a persoon as was Tite, and as myche conuersaunt with Poul as was Tite, and was myche comendid of Poul, and to whom Poul wrote more in quantite and more solempneli and oftir than to Tite; it folewith that also Thymothie was a bischop aboue hise preestis being vndir him. And ferther, sithen as

[1] *to* is interlineated in a later hand.

[2] *for as as*, MS.

CHAP. IV.

Poul dide and ordeyned and bade to Tite[1] and to Thymothiė, in lijk maner the othere Apostilis diden, ordeyneden, and baden to othere persoones in her side and in her cuntre, it folewith that not oonli Seint Poul but also the othere Apostilis entendiden, meeneden, ordeyneden, and baden that bischopis schulden be making to hem and vndir hem louȝer preestis.

Further proof from the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite that Timothy and Titus were bishops having priests under them.

Also this, that Tite and Thymothie weren bischopis aboue othere louȝer to hem preestis, is open ynouȝ bi the epistle which Dynys writith to Tite, and bi his book *Of the Chirchis Ierarchie* which he writith to Thymothie. Forwhi in the v^e^. chapiter of the now seid book Dynys declarith openli a bischop to be aboue othere louȝer preestis;[2] and ferthermore in the same book, the firste chapiter in the eende,[3] and in othere of hise bookis also he clepith and seith Thymothie to be such a bischop as is now seid to be aboue othere preestis. And ȝit ferthermore in his epistle to Tite[4] he wole that Tyte receyue of Thymothie certein doctrine writun, which[5] Dynys in his book *Of the Chirchis Ierarchie*[6] wole[7] be leerned and knowun in hise daies of bischopis oonli, and be priuey to hem oonli; and therfore ther yn he muste needis meene that Tite was such a bischop as was Thymothie.

But it may fairly be replied that St. Paul's acts are only to be regarded as a

Certis, to al this hool argument, with alle hise enforcingis, it may be seid with sufficient colour and likelihode, that al what this argument concludith and

---

[1] *bade Tite*, MS. (first hand).

[2] "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἱερεὺς ἔσται, μὴ πρὸς τῶν ἱεραρχικῶν τελειώσεων εἰς τοῦτο κεκληρωμένος." Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *De Eccl. Hierarch.* c. 5., (Op. tom. 1. p. 360. Ed. Cord.), where is much more to the same purpose.

[3] Id. c. 1. pp. 235, 236.

[4] "ὁ μὲν ἱερὸς Τιμόθεος, ὦ καλὲ Τίτε, οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινος τῶν διεγνωσμένων μοι θεολογικῶν συμβόλων ἀπελήλυθεν ἀνήκοος, κ. τ. λ." Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *Ep. ad Tit.* (Op. tom. ii. p. 141).

[5] *in which*, MS. (first hand).

[6] "οὐ μεταδώσεις (speaking to Timothy) ἑτέρῳ παρὰ τοὺς ὁμοταγεῖς σοι θεοειδεῖς ἱεροτελεστάς, κ. τ. λ." Id. *Eccl. Hier.* c. 1. p. 236.

[7] *he wole*, MS.

CHAP. IV.

proueth was doon in the tyme of the Apostlis, aftir that the cisme, of which it is spokun, i^e. Cor. i^e. and iij^e. chapitris in the bigynnyngis, bifille; for remediyng of which cisme, as Ierom conceyueth,[1] bischophode was founde and ordeyned to be aboue preesthode; and bi lijk skile othere statis of ouerte aboue bischophode, and not eer neithir bi Cristis owne deede; neuertheles bi Cristis weelwilling, as it is bifore schewid in this present chapiter.

means to remedy a particular schism, and not as a pattern of church-government.

Thanne ferther it myȝte be argued, that aboue these now seid bischopis, wilned and ordeyned by the Apostlis to be, the Apostlis willeden and meeneden an othir degree and state in preesthode to be aboue bischopis; ȝhe, and that thei maden[2] and ordeyneden a persoon into thilk same degree and state, bifore the cisme had i^e. Cor. ij^e. and iij^e. chapitris, y proue thus: The Apostlis helden and meeneden hem silf being of the noumbre of xij. to haue state and degree in preesthode aboue tho othere now seid bischopis, which thei made aftirward out of the noumbre of xij., as therto sowneth miche the processe, Acts i^e. c̃., bi manie therto markable wordis. And also wherto ellis wolden the xj. Apostlis in thilk

It might also be contended that in the solemn election of Matthias the Apostles intimated their office to have a special character, or that they were superior to other bishops having priests under them; *i. e.* that they were themselves archbishops.

---

[1] "Diligenter Apostoli verba attendamus dicentis: *Ut constituas per civitates presbyteros* . . . postea intulit, *Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse.* . . . Idem est ergo presbyter qui et episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent et diceretur in populis: *Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ*, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret et schismatum semina tollerentur. . . . . Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei, qui sibi præpositus fuerit, esse subjectos; ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere, &c. S. Hieron. in Ep. ad Tit. c. 1. (Op. tom. vii. pp. 694–696. Ed. Vall.)

[2] *maiden*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. IV.

tyme chese oon and make oon syngulerli with hem oonli and no mo, (that is to seie, Mathie,) but if thei hadden feelid and meened that thei xij. hadden a synguler prerogatijf and dignite, state, and degree, and ouerte, more than othere persoones schulden haue, whiche thei wolden aftirward chese and assigne into preesthode? And also whi ellis wolden thei make this choise of Mathie into the noumbre of xij. with so greet solempnite and bi preier going afore and with lott and token askid of God, but if thei hadden holde and meened, as now is seid that thei helden and meeneden? And in this meenyng and holding the Apostlis chosen Mathie forto be euene to hem in the dignite, degree, and state of the xij. Wherfore folewith that the Apostlis feleden hem silf to haue state and degree in preesthode aboue othere bischopis, whiche thei aftirward maden and ordeyneden bisidis the noumbre of xij.; and also thei maden and ordeyned such a persoon lijk to hem forto be aboue the othere bischopis aftir comyng. And so folewith that the Apostlis helden and meeneden hem silf to be as archibischopis.

But it may fairly be replied that Peter was only moved by devotion to complete the number of authoritative eye-witnesses of Christ's miracles, and that he did not imply that Matthias was elected into a higher rank than that of priest.

To this argument it mai be answerid colorabli and likeli ynouȝ, that Peter, Acts, i^c. c̃., whanne he fille into deuocioun forto haue a special and a singuler successour to Iudas, was not moued therto bi nede of resoun or of feith, but bi a deuocioun which was honest and ȝit myȝt be lackid; and that he entendid forto chese Mathie into this, that he myȝte make the same hool noumbre of homeli and experimental witnessers of Cristis deedis, and not into this that Mathie schulde be chose therwith in to eny hiȝer state than into preesthode: and to this deuocioun of Peter, for that it was honest, God condescendid, as he dooth ful ofte in performyng the desiris of hise louers, though thei ben not needis necessarie. And thus the ij^e. argument next bifore mad is bi sufficient likelihode assoilid. And therfore y stonde to the iij. firste to gidere going

argumentis in this present chapiter forto proue this present iiij^e. principal conclusioun. CHAP. IV.

Also this present iiij^e. conclusioun may be proued bi a processe of iij. supposiciouns and of an argument formed vpon hem toward the eende of the first parti in this present book. Se he there the argument, who hath[1] desijr forto it se; namelich for that the argument there mad proueth this iiij^e. principal gouernaunce vnsoilabili.[2] The fourth conclusion may also be proved in the same way as another conclusion has already been proved.

v. CHAPITER.

THE v^e. principal conclusion concernyng and biholding the seid[3] iiij^e. principal gouernaunce is this: Doom of cleerli in kinde disposid resoun iugith, allowith, and approueth the iiij^e. principal gouernaunce sett bifore in the bigynnyng of this present iiij^e. partie. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: Resoun in his cleer doom iugith, allowith, and approueth that ouer a certein multitude[4] of the louȝest peple in the layfe be oon certein lord or iuge or officer forto iuge her causis; and that ouer a certein noumbre of suche now seid lordis or officers be oon hiȝer officer forto iuge the causis rísing bitwixe tho now seid louȝer lordis or officers and forto heere the compleintis of her vndirlyngis, if thei be wrongid of the now seid louȝer lordis or officers; and in lijk maner, that ouer and aboue manye to gidere of these laste seid hiȝer lordis and officers be oon other to ouer waite hem and her reule and gouernaunce; and so forth, til we come vnto oon highest emperour, bi whos hiȝest oonheed schal reste and pees be mad thoruȝ alle peple hiȝer

THE FIFTH CONCLUSION. Reason approves the ecclesiastical polity complained of. Proof of the conclusion. Since clergy and laity have a common nature, different ranks are equally necessary for the government of both. Further discussion of this matter in Pecock's *Book of Priesthood*.

---

[1] *who that hath*, MS. (first hand).

[2] See Part 1. c. xix.

[3] *seid* is added in the margin by a later hand.

[4] *of multitude*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. V.

and louȝer lyuyng vnder him, whanne thei wolen compleyne to him. And ellis, but if such an ordre of degrees and statis were sette in the layfe, and that oon were hiȝest in auctorite and power aboue alle other, resoun seeth openli that ther were no sure wey forto haue pees and reste and riȝtwisnesse kept by twixe persoon and persoon, and bitwixe cuntre and cuntre, rewme and rewme: and that for the natural freelte, which bi surest experience is knowun to be in al mankinde. But so it is, that thouȝ of the al hool noumbre of Adamys children summe ben ordeyned to be preestis, and summe to be dekenys, and summe ben ordeyned to be craftiose[1] men and marchaundis, and summe to be othere laborers; ȝit alle thei, bothe preestis and dekenis and alle othere lay persoonys, ben mad of oon lumpe of mater descending from Adam; and preestis ben born vndir coniunccioun and constellaccioun stiring and moving into as greet freelnes and badde maners as othere lay men ben born, and also preestis ben of as badde kindeli complexioun moving into badde and scharpe passioun as ben lay men; and so al freelnes, which is naturali and strongli and fersly in lay men, ben ljik miche in preestis. Wherfore, sithen for this freelnes thus founde in the lay peple resoun iugith and deemth that such now seid dyuersite of statis and degrees in ouerte and netherte ben to be had in the lay parti of Goddis peple, and lijk euen and lijk myche freelte is founde naturali in the prestial parti of Goddis peple; it muste needis folewe that resoun ouȝte lijk weel deeme, that lijk dyuersite of statis and degrees in ouerte and netherte ben to be had and vsid among preestis and othere clerkis in the chirche of God, as among lay persoones of the world. If preestis and bischopis

[1] *crastiose*, MS.

mowen be exempt that thei be not the children of Adam, thei mowen be excusid that thei han noon ouerer ouer hem; and if thei mowen not be ther of exemptid, sotheli thei musten needis haue ouer hem reulers. More of this mater is pleinli seid and tauȝt in *The book of preesthode*, and therfore the lasse is sett here.

THE SIXTH CONCLUSION. This polity is strictly lawful. Proof of the conclusion.

The vj^e^. principal conclusioun concernyng and biholding the iiij^e^. seid principal gouernaunce is this: The iiij^e^. bifore spokun principal gouernaunce is leeful in proprist maner forto speke of leefulnes. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: What euer gouernaunce Holi Scripture and doom of cleerli disposid resoun allowen and approuen is leeful in proprist maner of speche forto speke of leefulnes. But so it is, that[1] Holi Scripture and cleer doom of resoun allowen and approuen the iiij^e^. bifore spokun principal gouernaunce, as the next bifore going iiij^e^. and v^e^. principal conclusiouns schewen and prouen. Wherfore the same seid iiij^e^. principal gouernaunce is in proprist maner of leeffulnes leeful.

THE SEVENTH CONCLUSION. This polity is an ordinance of God's law. Proof of the conclusion.

The vij^e^. principal conclusioun concernyng and biholding the seid iiij^e^. principal gouernaunce is this: The iiij^e^. principal gouernaunce sett bifore in the bigynnyng of this present iiij^e^. partie is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: What euer gouernaunce Holi Scripture and doom of kindeli weel disposid resoun allowen and approuen is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe, as y haue ofte tauȝt and proued in my writingis, namelich in the firste parti of the book clepid *The iust apprisyng of Holi Scripture*. But so it is, that Holi Scripture and doom of kindeli weel disposid resoun allowen and approuen the iiij^e^. seid principal gouernaunce, as the

[1] *that bothe*, MS. (first hand.)

CHAP. V.

next bifore going iiij^{e}. and v^{e}. principal conclusiouns schewen and prouen. Wherfore the same seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe.

THE EIGHTH CONCLUSION. It is no sin to set an example to other men of maintaining this polity. Proof of the conclusion.

The viij^{e}. principal conclusion concernyng and biholding the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce is this: It is not synne as in that and for that a man forto exaumple bi hise dedis to othere men the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: It is not synne a man forto ensaumple bi hise deedis to othere men eny deede or gouernaunce, which is the lawe of God. But so it is, that the iiij^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce is a gouernaunce of the lawe of God. Wherfore it is not synne as in that and for that a man forto ensaumple bi hise deedis to othere men the seid iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce. And in this y eende the mater of the ofte spokun iiij^{e}. principal gouernaunce.

vj.[1] CHAPITER.

The fifth ordinance complained of. The pope and his bishops impose many statutes, some of which are contrary to the law of God.

THE v^{e}. principal gouernaunce to be tretid in this present iiij^{e}. partie, for which gouernaunce summe of the lay peple vndirnemen and blamen vniustli and vntreuli the clergie, is this: The pope and other louȝer bischopis maken lawis of statutis and ordinauncis in greet noumbre and multitude, and chargen the louȝer persoones of the clergie and the lay persoones forto kepe tho statutis and ordinauncis; and ferthermorè these vndirnymers and blamers beren an hond to the clergie, that summe of tho now seid statutis, ordynauncis, and lawis ben aȝens the lawe and comaundement of God.

---

[1] *The vj.*, MS.

CHAP. VI.

By what has been already proved, it appears that it is lawful for the clergy to make politic ordinances in addition to the divine law.

Aȝens this now rehercid blamyng and vndirnemyng y may procede thus: If these blamers in so blamyng meenen, that no lawe of mannys ordinaunce ouȝte be sett to and with the comoun Cristen lawe of God maad of lawe of kinde and of sacramentis, as manye suche blamers ben, aȝens her blamyng and chalenging so mad proceden and goon forth in grettist strengthe and in openest euydence alle tho conclusiouns of Scripture and of resoun, whiche bifore in this present iiij^{e}. partie ben mad upon bischophode and othere statis aboue preesthode and othere ordris binethe preesthode fro the bigynnyng of this present iiij^{e}. partie hidir to; and also alle tho conclusiouns of Scripture and of resoun, which aftir in the v^{e}. parti of this book prouen that religiosite of mannys ordinaunce is leeful, and may weel be sett to the comoun lawe of God mad of lawe of kinde and of sacramentis. For whi ech such seid ordre or dignite and ech such seid religiosite mad bi man is a law and ordinaunce mad bi man and sett to and with the seid comoun lawe of God; and therfore how weel such bischophode or religiose mannys lawis mowen be mad and sett to and with the lawe of God, so weel bi al resoun othere politik mennys lawis mowen be mad and sett to and with the same lawe of God; sithen bothe bischophode and archibischophode, dekenhode and religiose mannys lawis, and othere politik mennys lawis ben noon othere than mennys ordinauncis and mennys tradiciouns reuling men forto do this or that, to which as bi Goddis pleyn lawe tho men weren not bifore bounde. And therfore if it be leeful and profitable statis or ordris in the chirche aboue preesthode and binethe preesthode and religiouns be maad bi men and be sett to Goddis comoun lawe, as it is proued bifore in this iiij^{e}. partie and aftir proued in the v^{e}. party of this book; certis no man may thanne avoide, but that it is leeful ynouȝ and

CHAP. VI.

speedful the clergie for to make othere politik lawis and ordinauncis, and forto sette hem to the comoun pleyn lawe of God maad of lawe of kinde and of hise posityue sacramentis.

Again, since it is lawful for princes to make civil laws for the good government of their people, it must be equally lawful for the rulers of the church to make laws for the good government of its members.

Also it is leeful to princis with hir comounalte forto make politik and cyuyl lawis and ordinauncis for the better reule of the peple in temporal and cyuyl gouernauncis, longing into worldli pees and prosperite and worldli welthe, to be the better therbi kept and contynued. Forwhi ful weel this purpos witnessith open resoun and experience, and therto ful weel consentith Poul, i^e. Thim. i^e. č., where he blameth men whiche maden hem curiose forto holde that suche lawis mad bi worldli princis schulde not be leeful; and the same he muste needis meene, as ofte as he weel approueth and wole in dyuerse placis of hise epistlis that boonde men schulden obeie to her temporal lordis, sithen boundage cometh yn bi mennys ordynauncis. Wherfore, bi lijk skile, it is leeful and expedient to the greet congregacioun of preestis and clerkis in the other side of the layfe lyuyng, that to the preestis and clerkis be mad bi her ouerers and with the consent of the netherers summe politik ordinauncis and lawis, for to pointe in the better and in the clerer maner to hem what and how and whanne thei schulen do this or that thing or deede; and forto pointe and lymyte and thretene peynes, but if tho deedis in the assigned maner, place, and tyme, and persoones be doon; and forto ordeyne that tho peynes be[1] ȝouun to the trespacers. And therfore vtterli it is plein ynouȝ bi strengthe of al the processe going aȝens the blamyng of the iiij^e. gouernaunce sett bifore in this present iiij^e. partie and bi al the processe mad for iustifiyng of the vj^e. principal gouernaunce aftir in the v^e. principal partie, that no man may iustli blame mennys

[1] *ben*, MS. (first hand).

ordinauncis and statutis and tradiciouns to be maad of the clergie and to be had and vsid as for this, that thei ben mennys lawis and mennys ordynanncis sett to the comoun lawe of God, as thouȝ it were vnleeful eny mennys ordynauncis to be mad and to be sett to and with the comoun lawe of God. CHAP. VI.

And if these blamers wolen pretende that thei not blamen for cause now rehercid the seid lawis had and vsid in the clergie, but for this cause that tho lawis conteynen in hem contrarite to the comoun lawe of God, certes thanne these blamers musten expresseli marke, assigne, telle out, and bringe forth whiche lawis mad bi the pope or othere bischopis and the clergie ben aȝens eny comaundid lawe of God. And what euere lawe of the clergie thei kunnen into this purpos point, allegge forth, and assigne, y trowe that riȝt liȝtli thilk lawe mai of such diffame and defaut be excusid and be defendid. Forwhi al that is aftir seid in the v^e. parti of this present book, the [x^e.][1] chapiter, to be priueli vndirstonde in making of eny religioun founde of man is in lijk maner thoruȝ out to be vndirstonde in ech positijf lawe mad bi the pope or eny other bischop or bi eny worldli prince; ȝhe, and in ech vow or ooth maad bi eny man; and therfore her chaleng and blamyng, mad in fourme and for cause rehercid in the bigynnyng of this present chapiter, muste needis be had as for vniust and vntrewe. But if any ordinance be objected against, not as being simply an human law, but as being contrary to the divine law, it must be distinctly proved to be so.

vij. CHAPITER.

IF to suche bifore spokun blamers this processe now mad fro the bigynnyng of the next bifore going chapiter hidir to be not sufficientli acceptid, but that Certain formal arguments in favour of ecclesiastical laws made by human

[1] A space left in the MS. for the number.

CHAP. VII.

authority. The first argument. Whatever is not forbidden by Scripture, reason, and human law is lawful; but none of these forbid such laws: consequently they are lawful.

thei desiren to heere and haue[1] argumentis mad in fourme aȝens the blamyng of this v^e. gouernaunce, as argumentis ben maad bifore in fourme aȝens the blamyngis of the i^e., ij^e., iij^e., and iiij^e. gouernauncis; lo, (thouȝ for causis in the next chapiter bifore expressid that alle the principal conclusiouns bifore going in this present iiij^e. partie and alle the conclusiouns principal aftir comyng in the v^e. partie of this book maken in her fourmes for iustifiyng of the v^e. principal conclusioun;[2] ȝit) argumentis in sum fourme schulen therto be mad alredi thus: Ech gouernaunce, which Holi Scripture werneth not and forbedith not, doom of cleer and weel disposid natural resoun weerneth not and forbedith not, mannys lawe werneth not and forbedith not, is leeful and not worthi be vndirnome and blamed. But so it is, that forto haue lawis and tradiciouns of mennys ordinauncis is a gouernaunce, which Holi Scripture werneth not and forbedith not, doom of weel disposid resoun werneth not and forbedith not, mannys lawe weerneth not and forbedith not. Wherfore thilk gouernaunce is leeful and not worthi be blamed and be reproued.

The first premiss proved already.

The firste premysse of this argument is sumwhat clerid in the iij^e. partie of this present book the xj^e.[3] chapiter, but miche better in this present iiij^e. partie of this same present book the iij^e. chapiter; and therfore no thing for proof of him here.

The second premiss proved. Neither Scripture nor reason forbid any ordi-

For proof of the ij^e. premysse, that neither Holi Scripture, neither doom of cleer resoun werneth or forbedith[4] the now[5] v^e. principal bifore spokun gouer-

[1] *to haue*, MS. (first hand).

[2] Probably we should read *gouernaunce*.

[3] *xij^e.*, MS.

[4] *for bedith*, MS. (without hyphen).

[5] The words seem to be disarranged. Probably we should read: *the now bifore spokun v^e.*, &c.

naunce, y proue thus: What euer thing weerneth or forbedith eny gouernaunce, he weerneth and forbedith [1] in that ech other gouernaunce being of lijk condicioun and of lijk state or nature, namelich whanne the thing weernyng or forbeding weerneth not and forbedith not in mannys moral conuersacioun aftir pure uolunte, but aftir the meryt of the gouernancis which he fyndith to be weerned and forbodun. But so it is, that neither Holi Scripture, neither doom of cleer resoun weerneth and forbedith eny gouernaunce, which thei forbeden, for and bi eny other cause than for the state and the merit and the condicioun of the gouernaunce bi hem forbodun. Wherfore it folewith that if Holi Scripture or cleer resoun forbedun the now spokun v^e^. principal gouernaunce of mennys lawis to be maad and be vsid in the clergie and layfe, Holi Scripture and doom of cleer resoun schulden forbede lijk weel and lijk myche and lijk soone the iiij^e^. principal gouernaunce bifore spoken in this present iiij^e^. partie, [and] the vj^e^. principal gouernaunce spokun aftir in the v^e^. partie of this book; sithen thilk iiij^e^. and vj^e^. and this v^e^. gouernauncis ben of lijk condicioun, state, cause, and merit for to be forbodun and weerned, if eny of hem schulde bi Holi Writt or resoun be weerned, as bifore in the next chapiter of this iiij^e^. partie it is schewid. But so it is, that neither Holi Scripture neither cleer resoun weerneth or forbedith the iiij^e^. seid principal gouernaunce, as it is openli proued bifore fro the bigynnyng of this present iiij^e^. partie hidirto in this present book; neither forbedith the vj^e^. gouernaunce, as it is open after thorus the v^e^. parti of this book. Wherfore nedis folewith, that neither Holi Scripture, neither doom of cleer resoun weerneth or forbedith this v^e^. principal gouernaunce to be had and be vsid.

CHAP. VII.

nance except on its own merits; and as they forbid not divers ranks among the clergy, neither the religious orders, as this book proves, so they forbid not ecclesiastical laws generally made by human authority, since all these are of a like nature and merit.

[1] *fobedith*, MS.

CHAP. VII.

Another formal argument. Scripture and reason by like reasoning approve of such ecclesiastical laws.

An other argument to be maad in fourme for this present purpos, that[1] Holy Scripture and doom of cleer resoun allowen and approuen and witnessen the now seid v^e^. principal gouernaunce, mai be this: What euer thing allowith and approueth eny gouernaunce, he in that same allowing and approuyng allowith and approueth ech other gouernaunce being of lijk condicioun, state, and nature; if the thing so approuyng and allowing approue and allowe not in mannys moral conuersacioun aftir pure wantown volunte, but aftir that the merit of [the] thing to be allowid and approued askith. Wherfore, sithen[2] Holi Scripture and doom of cleer resoun approuen and allowen not eny gouernaunce in mannys moral lyuyng, other wise than thilk gouernaunce is worthi bi his state and his condicioun to be approued and allowid, and the iiij^e^. and the vj^e^. seid principal governauncis ben of lijk state, condicioun, nature, and merit with this present v^e^. principal gouernaunce for to be approued or reproued, (for as myche as noon of hem is more worth than mannys ordinauncis ben, for ech of hem is mannys ordynaunce;) —it folewith needis, (sithen[2] Holi Scripture and doom of cleer resoun approuen and allowen the iiij^e^. and vj^e^. seid principal gouernauncis,) that theryn and therbi priueli Holi Scripture and doom of cleer resoun approuen and allowen the v^e^. seid principal gouernaunce.

Nothing need here be said of human laws, for these fully sanction church laws.

Of mannys lawe, what it doith upon the firste, ij^e^., iij^e^., iiij^e^., v^e^., and vj^e^. principal gouernauncis, it is no neede make[3] eny mensioun; for open ynow it is,[4] that mannys lawe hem alle fauorith at the fulle.

Also the present ordinance may be proved by a method already employed for another purpose.

Also this present v^e^. principal gouernaunce mai be proued bi a processe of iij. supposiciouns and of an argument formed vpon hem toward the eende of the

---

[1] *that bothe*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *sithen bothe*, MS. (first hand) twice.

[3] *to make*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *is seid*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VII.

i^e. parti in this present book; which argument y wolde reders in this place forto thidir turne and it se, by cause thilk argument is vnsoilable.[1]

Also into the same purpos y may argue thus: What euer gouernaunce was brouȝt into the chirche the Apostlis therto consenting, or at the leest the Apostlis it witing and aȝens it not reclaymyng, is leeful and worthi be had and vsid. But so it is, that the iiij^e. and the v^e. and the vj^e. principal gouernauncis of this book entriden into the chirche the Apostlis therto consenting, or at the leest the Apostlis it witing and it not weernyng and not forbeding. Wherfore the iiij^e., v^e., and vj^e. seid gouernauncis be leeful and worthi to be had and vsid.

Again, whatever ordinance came into the church by consent of the Apostles is lawful. But the three abovenamed ordinances did so come in, and are consequently lawful.

The firste premysse of this argument is openli ynouȝ trewe; and as for treuthe of the ij^e. premysse y make this proof: Neither Seint Dynys neither eny other worthi bischop and reuler, which was maad in the chirche of God bi eny Apostle, wolde haue mad or ordeyned, whilis the Apostlis lyueden, eny gouernaunce to be had in the chirche of God, but if the Apostlis hadden therto consentid; neither aftir the deeth of the Apostlis, but if thilk makers and ordyners hadden bifore knowe that the Apostlis consentiden it in tyme aftir to be mad and ordeyned,[2] or that the Apostlis ȝauun sum wey or ground wherbi tho makers myȝten weel knowe and knewen, that forto so make and ordeyne it accordid weel[3] with the Apostlis witt and wil. But so it is, that Dynys in his book of *The Chirchis Ierarchie*,[4] the vj^e.[5] chapiter, makith mensioun that the grete dukis of the chirche, whiche lyueden with the Apostlis, maden and ordeyneden the

The second premiss proved from the (spurious) writings of Dionysius the Areopagite.

---

[1] See Part I. c. xix.

[2] *ordeynedē*, MS., the stroke above being in a later (?) hand. The participle is manifestly required.

[3] *weel* is added in the margin by a later hand.

[4] *ierachie*, MS.

[5] *v^e.*, MS.

CHAP. VII.

religioun of monkehode to be had and vsid in the chirche;[1] which religioun is of the vj^e. to be seid principal gouernaunce. And also Dynys in the same book thorȝout weelnyȝ ech chapiter of the book makith mensioun of ful manye posytyue lawis mad bi the same now seid dukis and reulers of the chirche, whiche lyuyden in the tyme of the Apostlis; of which now seid mannys lawis and tradiciouns manye ben how and in which maners baptym schal be don aboute and upon him which is to be baptiside;[2] and manye othere suche mennys lawis ben how the sacrament of the auter schulde be mad, and how the masse schal be seid, and how the mynystris schulen be araied, and what officis thei schulen do;[3] and manye othere suche lawis ther ben tauȝt what and how manie thingis schulen be doon aboute a man, whanne he schal be mad bischop;[4] what and how manie thingis schulen be doon aboute a man, whanne he schal be mad preest;[4] what and how manye thingis schulen be doon aboute him if he be mad deken;[4] what and how manie thingis schulen be doon aboute a man, if he be mad a monk;[5] and that to a bischop ben reserued these powers, that is to seie, for to halewe creme, for to halewe chirchis and auteris, and for to ȝeue orderis of preesthode and of dekenhode;[6] and so forth of othere posytyue lawis maad bi tho now seid worthi men ouerlong to be here rehercid. Wherfore folewith that the religioun of monkehode, which is of the vj^e. principal gouer-

---

[1] "ἡ δὲ τῶν τελουμένων ἁπασῶν ὑψηλοτέρα τάξις, ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ διακόσμησις· . . . . ἔνθεν οἱ θεῖοι καθηγεμόνες ἡμῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν αὐτοὺς ἱερῶν ἠξίωσαν, οἱ μὲν θεραπευτὰς, οἱ δὲ μοναχοὺς ὀνομάζοντες, κ. τ. λ." Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *De Eccl. Hierach.* c. 6. (Op. tom. 1. p. 386. Ed. Cord.)

[2] Id. c. 2.

[3] Id. c. 3.

[4] Id. c. 5.

[5] Id. c. 6.

[6] Id. c. 5.

naunce, and also these now rehercid mennys lawis and tradiciouns, whiche ben of the v^e^. now seid gouernaunce, weren mad bi consent of the Apostlis ȝouun therto, or at the leest bi sum ground bi which the makers knewen sufficientli that forto so make and ordeyne it accordid with the witt and the wil of the Apostlis. CHAP. VII.

But ȝit ouer al what in this[1] wise goith bifore, y sette therto this now to be fourmed argument into stable confirmacioun of al it which is now bifore argued bi Scripture into this present purpos: Holi Scripture, i^e^. Cor. xj^e^. c̃., makith open mensioun that Poul made an ordynaunce to the men of Corinthe, that thei schulde not take her hosil, (that is to seie, the holi eukarist,) at nyȝt tyme aftir her soper, (or in sum other special maner thanne vsid, not now sureli knowen,) forto therbi contirfete Cristis doing at his soper and forto remembre therbi his soper, not withstonding thei hadden vsid thilk maner bi long tyme afore. Ferthermore in the eende of the same xj^e^. chapiter Poul warneth hem, that ouer this, which he so ordeyneth and stabilith to hem in the fourme of lawe now rehercid and bi him silf maad, he wole ordeyne mo gouernauncis to hem, and so make mo suche lawis to hem, in the next tyme whanne he schulde come to hem. And so herbi it is cleer bi Holi Scripture in the now alleggid place, i^e^. Cor. xj^e^. c̃., that it is leeful lawis be mad bi man and be sett for to be in vce with the comoun Cristen lawe ȝouun and mad immediatli bi God. Forwhi ellis Seint Poul hadde do amys, which made this now rehercid lawe and settide it to be had in vce with the comoun lawe of God thanne had and bifore vsid. Also Poul made bi hise owne power this lawe, as And from the writings of St. Paul.

[1] *this* is interlineated by a later hand.

CHAP. VII.

it is open i^e. Thim. iij^c. c̃., and Tite i^c. c̃., that no man schulde be a bischop neither deken, (and therfore in the same he meened therwith, that neither he schulde be preest,) if he hadde be twies weddid; that is to seie, if he hadde had oon wijf and sche hadde be deed and he hadde eftsoone take an other wijf, he schulde not be mad a bischop neither a preest neiȝthir[1] a deken louȝer than a preest, for cause which schal in other place of my writing be tauȝt. And this ordynaunse so mad bi Poul was a mannys ordinaunce, for it was his ordinaunce mad bi his witt and his wil and power; and ellis ther myȝte no dispensacioun be mad bi man, that eny man tweies weddid schulde be a preest; not withstonding that the pope takith upon him forto mowe so dispense, and resoun weerneth him not. Wherfore bi Holi Writt it is open and cleer, that mannys lawis mowen be maad and be sett into vse for to renne with Goddis lawe.

Thus it is proved that ecclesiastical laws may not be blamed, merely because they are of human authority. If they are contrary to some command of Christ, the case is altered, but this has yet to be proved.

And so fynali and eendli y mai conclude as weel proued, that religiouns and mannys lawis and tradiciouns to be mad and be vsid and be set to the comoun lawe of Crist, which is mad of lawe of kinde and of hise sacramentis, is not blameable and reprouable as for this oonli that thei ben religiouns or mennys lawis and mennys tradiciouns. Also aȝens this pretencioun to be mad aȝens religiouns, it is seid sufficientli aftir thoruȝout the v^e. parti of this book. And aȝens lijk pretencioun mad aȝens othere lawis of men schal be seid anoon next aftir in answeris to be mad to apparent and semyng skilis aȝens the now seid v^e. principal gouernaunce. If eny man can seie that eny of hem is blameable and reprouable, not for that thilk religioun is a religioun of mannys making,

[1] Perhaps a clerical error for *neithir*.

neither for that thilk lawe is a lawe of mannys making, but for that he is ȝens sum commaundement of Cristis lawe, (that is to seie, ȝens sum point of lawe of kinde or of Cristis sacramentis,) he must allegge forth which thilk religioun or thilk mannys lawe is; and ther upon he schal be herd and his pretensioun schal be examyned. And if he can proue what he pretendith, he schal be suffrid to reioice his opinioun, and othere men schulen ther yn holde with him. But forto crie and diffame and bacbite in this wise; "The "pope makith lawis contrarie to Cristis lawis, and "therfore he makith lawis of anticrist;" and ȝit this diffamer can not assigne and bringe forth eny of thilk lawis which he is, and whi he is ȝens Goddis lawe, is a beestly gouernaunce, and such a gouernaunce as y dar weel avowe[1] is ȝens the lawe of God. And therfore to suche ypocritis, pretending hem to loue the lawe of God, y seie thus: *Take out the beem which is in thin owne iȝe, et cætera,* Math. vij[e].[2] c̃.

viij. CHAPITER.

Certain arguments against ecclesiastical laws made by human authority considered and refuted. THE FIRST ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS. Human traditions generally are forbidden in the New Testament.

FOR to semyngli iustifie the blamyng and the reproving of the v[e]. principal gouernaunce rehercid and sett bifore in the vj[e]. chapiter of this present iiij[e]. partie summe semyng skilis mowen be mad, of which the firste takun bi textis of Holi Scripture is this: What euer gouernaunce God in his Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament blameth and reproueth is not worthi be had and vsid rennyngli with his comon Cristen lawe. But so it is, that God in his Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament blameth and reproueth generali withoute eny excepcioun mennys lawis

[1] *a vowe,* MS. | [2] *viij[e].,* MS.

CHAP. VIII.

and mennys comaundementis and mennys tradiciouns. Wherfore, generali to speke and withoute eny excepcioun, thei ben vnleeful and not to be vsid concurrentli with his comoun lawe of Cristenhode. And so this argument gooth not oonli aȝens politik lawis maad bi men, but also aȝens statis aboue preesthode and aȝens religiose lawis maad bi men.

Texts which seem to bear out the second premiss quoted.

The firste premisse of this argument is sure ynouȝ, and that the ij^e. premysse is trewe y argue thus: It is writun Math. xv^e. c̃., in the bigynnyng thus: *Thanne the*[1] *scribis and the Pharisees camen to him fro Ierusalem and seiden, Whi breken thi discipulis the tradiciouns of eldre men, for thei waischen not her hondis whanne thei eten breed? He answerid and seide to hem, Whi breken ȝe the comaundement of God for ȝoure tradicioun? For God seide, 'Honoure thou thi fadir and thi modir,' and, 'He 'that cursith fadir or modir die he bi deeth;' but ȝe seien, 'Who euer seith to fadir or modir, What 'euer ȝift is of me, it schal profite to thee,' and he hath not worschipid his fadir or his modir;—and ȝe han mad the comaundement of God voide for ȝoure tradicioun. Ipocritis, Isaie the prophet prophecied weel of ȝou and seide, 'This peple honourith 'me with lippis, but her herte is fer fro me; and 'thei worschipen me with oute cause, teching the 'doctrinys and maundementis of men.' And whanne the peplis weren clepid to gidre to him, he seide to hem, Heere ȝe and vndirstonde ȝe; that thing that entrith into the mouth defoulith not a man, but that thing that cometh out of the mouth defoulith a man.* And sumwhat after there thus: *Vnderstonde ȝe not*

[1] *the* is wrongly cancelled by a later hand, which perhaps intended to cancel it before *Pharisees*, where it is wanting in some MSS. (but not in Forshall and Madden's text) of Wiclif's later version, from which this citation is taken.

that al thing that entrith into the mouth gooth into the wombe, and is sent out into going awey; but tho thingis that comen forth fro the mouth goon out of the[1] *herte, and tho thingis defoulen a man? for of the herte goon out yuel thouȝtis, mansleyngis, avoutries, fornicaciouns, theftis, false witnessyngis, blasphemyes: these thingis it ben that defoulen a man, but to ete with hondis not wayschen defoulith not a man.* Lijk sentence of this same storie and mater is write Mark vij^{c}. c̃., thus: *And the Pharisees and summe of the scribis camen fro Ierusalem togidere to him, and whanne thei hadden seen summe of hise disciplis ete breed with vnwaischen hondis, thei blameden; [for]*[2] *the Pharisees and alle the Iewis eten not, but if thei waischen ofte her hondis, holding the tradicions of eldre men; and whanne thei turnen aȝen fro cheping, thei eten not, but thei ben waischen: and manye othere thingis ben that ben take to hem to kepe, waischingis of cuppis and of water vessels and of vessels of bras and of beddis. And Pharisees*[3] *and scribis askiden him and seiden, Whi goon not thi disciplis aftir the tradicioun of eldre men, but with vnwaischen hondis thei eten breed? And he answerid and seide to hem, Isaie prophecied weel of ȝou ypocritis, as it is writun, 'This peple 'worschipith me with lippis, but her herte is fer 'fro me; and in vein thei worschipen me, teching 'the doctrines and the hestis of men:' for ȝe leuen the maundementis of God and holden the tradicioun of men, waischingis of water vessels and of cuppis,*

[1] *the* is added in a later hand; it occurs in Wiclif's version.

[2] This word, though absent from most (but not all) MSS. of Wiclif's later version, is quite necessary to complete the sense.

[3] The article seems also to be absent from all the MSS. of Wiclif's later version: a little below Pecock's text omits it before *Pharisees*, (p. 473.)

CHAP. VIII. *and manye othere thingis lijk to these ȝe doon. And he seide to hem, Wel ȝe han maad the maundement of God voide to kepe ȝoure tradicioun: for Moyses seide, 'Worschipe thi fadir and thi modir,' and, 'He 'that cursith fadir or modir, die he bi deeth;' but ȝe seien, 'If a man seie to fadir or modir, Corban,' that is to seie, 'What euer ȝifte is of me, it schal 'profite to thee;'—and ouer ȝe suffren not him do*[1] *eny thing to fader or modir; and ȝe breken the word of God by ȝoure tradicioun, that ȝe han ȝouun; and ȝe doon manie suche thingis. And he eftsoone clepid the peple and seide to hem: ȝe alle heere me and vndirstonde; no thing that is withouten a man that entrith into him may defoule him, but tho thingis that comen forth of a man, tho it ben that defoulen a man; if eny man haue eeris of heering, heere he.* And sumwhat aftir there he spekith more of this goostli defouling in the maner which is bifore spokun in Matheu the xv^e^. chapiter. Bi these ij. longe processis now rehercid, oon writun Math. xv^e^. c̃., and the other writun Mark vij^e^. c̃., it semeth to manye of the comoun peple that Crist blamed there the tradiciouns of whiche he spekith there, for that thei weren tradiciouns of men; so that sufficient cause were forto blame hem, that thei weren mennis tradiciouns sett to the comoun lawe of God. And therbi thei wolen conclude folewingli, that alle mennys tradiciouns ben nauȝt, and noon such ouȝten be;[2] but Goddis tradiciouns oonli ouȝten be; which is aȝens the Apostle, i^e^. Cor. xj^e^. c̃., as it is schewid bifore in this present iiij^e^. partie, the vij^e^. chapiter. And thus, as thei weenen, the ij^e^. premysse of the argument

[1] *to do*, MS. (first hand). No MS. of Wiclif's later version, collated by Forshall and Madden, has *to*.

[2] This and the four preceding words are written in the margin in a later hand.

mad in the bigynnyng of this present chapiter is proued. CHAP. VIII.

The secunde semyng skile into the same purpos is this: Thilk thing or gouernaunce not being necessarie into oure saluacioun, as for that it is the comaundement of God, what euer he be, is to be kutt awey and to be leid aside and to be not had and vsid, of which miche goostli harme and synne comen; for that that he is the occasioun that thilk goostly harme [and synne] comen; forwhi into the meenyng of this now rehercid proposicioun or sentence the Gospel seith thus: *If thi rizt ize or thi rizt hond*[1] *or thi rizt foot sclaundre thee, pulle him out or kutte him awey and caste him fro thee:*[2] but so it is, that of ech of the now spokun mannys lawis had and vsid myche goostli harm and synne comen, so that ech of hem is the occasioun wherbi and wherfro the goostli harme and synne comen: wherfore folewith that ech of the now spokun religiouns ouzte be pullid out of the chirche and ouzte be kutte awey and be not had and vsid. THE SECOND ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS. Whatever is the cause of much evil is, by Christ's command, to be cut away; and the aforesaid laws ecclesiastical do cause much evil, and should therefore be abolished.

The iij^e. semyng skile is this: If suche now spokun lawis and tradiciouns ben gode and profitable to Cristen men, as it is pretendid hem to be, whi ordeyned not Crist tho same lawis and tradiciouns to be had and vsid; sithen he couthe haue ordeyned tho lawis and tradiciouns, as weel as men couthen fynde hem and deuise hem; and sithen he loueth us and wilneth oure goostli profit more than we us silf willen, forwhi for oure goostli good and profite he sore laborid, suffrid, and died? Wher upon it myzt be argued in forme thus: Crist, which was oure grettist louer and oure beest prower, ordeyned al that was best for us to haue and al that is notabili better to be had than to not be had, for ellis he hadde not be anentis us THE THIRD ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS. If these laws had been profitable, Christ himself would have ordained them.

[1] *rizthond*, MS. (conjunctim), accidentally?

[2] See Matt. v. 29; Mark ix. 45.

CHAP. VIII. to gidere wijsist purueier and tendirist louer. But so it is, that Crist not ordeyned these spokun mennys lawis and tradiciouns; forwhi it is open ynouȝ that men founden hem and devisiden hem, and that now late sum and manye of hem. Wherfore thei be not necessarie, neither thei ben in no notable degree better to be had than to be not had.

ix. CHAPITER.

THE FIRST ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. It is not true that the New Testament blames human traditions and laws without exception. The passages quoted from the Gospels prove only the four following points.

FOR answere to the first semyng skile mad bifore in the bigynnyng of the next chapiter aȝens the v^e.[1] principal gouernaunce, the ij^e. premysse in the first argument mad there is to be denyed; and thanne next, whanne ij. longe processis, (oon of Math. xv^e. c̃. and an other of Mark vij^e. c̃.,) ben alleggid forth forto proue the same ij^e. premysse, it is to be seid that bi tho ij. longe processis mai not be had more as to this present purpos than these iiij. pointis.

The first point. Christ blamed two Jewish traditions: one which ordained that a man might make the Corban; the other which ordered washing before dinner as a means of removing moral uncleanness.

Oon is: That Crist blamed ij. tradicions of the Iewis there rehercid; oon bi which it was ordeyned, that a man schulde rather offre vp his money in the temple, than he schulde with the same money releeue his fadir or modir hauyng nede to be releeued therbi, and whiche myȝten not be releeued saue therbi: an other tradicioun was, bi which it was ordeyned that no man schulde take mete, but that he anoon bifore waischid him, and as soone as eny man were come and turned hoom fro the market or the cheping, that he waische him silf; wherby it is open that the opinioun of the Iewis was this, that the bodili waisching with water schulde clense the soule fro moral vnclennessis drawun and takun in biyng and silling. Forwhi it nedith not neither folewith, that bi biyng and sil-

[1] *iiij^e.*, MS.

ling eny bodili vnclennes bifalle to the bier and siller; and, bi lijk skile,[1] bodili waisching schulde clense the soule fro alle[2] maners of moral vnclennessis, aftir her opinioun; and that moral vnclennessis comen yn into the soule bi outward vnclennessis of vessels or of eny other outward vncleene thing.

The second point. Christ blamed the firs tradition as being contrary to the divine command, the second as a vain and false opinion.

The ij^e. point is: That Crist blamed there the firste now rehercid tradicioun, for that he was euen aȝens the commaundement of God, which is the comaundement of lawe of kinde; and he blamed there the ij^e. now rehercid tradicioun, for that he was vein and waast and conteyned an vntrouthe of opinioun, thouȝ he were not contrarie to eny comaundement of God.

The third point. Christ did not blame all Jewish traditions without exception.

The iij^e. point is this: That of and bi thilk ij. long processis of Matheu and of Mark kunne not be had that Crist blamed alle the tradicioun which Iewis[3] maden; forwhi in special he blamed no mo there than these ij. tradicioun now rehercid, and as in general he blamed[4] no mo neither othere tradicioun than tho whiche weren contrarie and aȝens the comaundement of God.

The fourth point. Christ did not blame the two traditions named because they were human, but because they were bad.

The iiij^e. point is this: That Crist blamed not tho ij. tradicioun now rehercid for that[5] thei weren mennis tradicioun, but for that thei weren yuel; so that this was not the caus of the blamyng, for that men made tho tradicioun; but this was al the cause and ground of the blamyng, for that thei weren yuel and badde: and therbi folewith not, that alle othere mennys tradicioun not being yuel schulden be worthi be blamed.

On the whole, then, these texts fail to prove that

Now ferther for answere in special to be mad it is to be seid thus: If Crist hadde there blamed alle tra-

---

[1] The sense and construction require either *it folewith that* to be inserted; or *that* in the clause following to be cancelled; yet it is possible that Pecock may have left the text as the scribe first wrote it

[2] *othere* is added after *alle* in the margin by a later hand, but wrongly, as it seems.

[3] *the Iewis*, MS. (first hand).

[4] *blaned*, MS.

[5] *forthat*, MS. (accidentally ?)

CHAP. IX.

which they were brought forward to prove. And this shall appear further from the three following observations.

dicioun̄s of Iewis mad bi hem, or if he hadde blamed the seid ij. tradicioun̄s for that that thei weren mennys tradicioun̄s, sotheli thilk ij. long processis, (oon of Matheu, an other of Mark) hadden proued weel the ij^{e}. premysse of the principal argument sett bifore in the bigynnyng of the next chapiter. But for as miche as it can not be had bi the ij. processis of Matheu and of Mark, that Crist blamed there alle tradicioun̄s mad bi the Iewis, saue oonli tho tradicioun̄s whiche weren a3ens Goddis comaundement or in eny other wise yuel, neither that he blamed there the ij. there spokun tradicioun̄s, for that thei weren mennys tradicioun̄s oonli, saue for that thei weren badde tradicioun̄s, (as it is open ynou3, if the wordis of Mark be weel markid and set forto expowne the wordis of Matheu upon the firste there spokun tradicioun)—therfore it is open ynow, that tho ij. long processis of Matheu and of Mark prouen not it what that thei ben brou3t forth to proue, that is, the seid ij^{e}. premysse. And therfore the seid argument hath not wherbi he mai haue his entent proued. Ferthermore, alle Cristen peple (namelich, al tho lay persoonys which wolen nedis entermete with reding in the Newe Testament) y biseche for to attende into these thingis or notabilitees,[1] whiche y schal now reherce as into thingis ful miche profitable to hem, and whos vnattendaunce hath causid ful myche yuel, namelich in tho lay persoones whiche entermeten miche with reding in the Newe Testament.

The first observation. Christ often forbids in general terms that which he intends to forbid in a special sense only; for example, he bids us to call no man our father on earth.

The firste ys: That ful ofte oure Lord Iesus forbedith or weerneth certeyn gouernauncis, and 3it he expressith tho gouernauncis not oonli in the maners and circumstauncis in whiche he hem forbedith and weerneth and in which thei ben forbedable or weernable, but he expressith hem in a forme comoun to the maners and circumstauncis in whiche thei ben

[1] *natabilitees*, MS.

weernable and to the maners and circumstauncis in whiche thei ben not weernable; and therfore tho deedis so in comoun or in general and large fourme bi him expressid ben to be vnderstonde and ben to be specified[1] and ben to be restreyned into the maners and circumstauncis in which oonli thei ben weernable or worthi be werned[2] bi resoun, and ben of him weerned, and thei ben not to be vndirstonde in the general forme in which thei ben expressid. Ensaumple herof is this: Crist weerneth men to clepe to hem a fader upon erthe in sum certeyn maner and forme oonli which is worthi to be[3] weerned, and ȝit this thing so as now is seid weerned Crist expressith and outrith in a larger and generaler fourme comoun to the maner and circumstauncis in which it is weernable and to the maner and circumstauncis in which it is not worthi be weerned. For whi he seith in this large and general fourme, *Nile ȝe clepe to ȝou a fadir on erthe;*[4] and therfore this thing so weerned as in general maner of the wordis is to be specified and to be restreyned [and] to be narowid and to be vndirstonde and drawe as it accordith oonli with the maner and circumstauncis in which it is worthi the same thing bi resoun to be forbodun or weerned. And so this that vndir so large and so general a fourme is weerned, *Nile ȝe clepe to ȝou a fadir on erthe,* is to be take and vndirstonde in this wise: "Nile ȝe clepe "to ȝou a principal or a cheef fadir on erthe, for "thilk cheef fadir is in heuen."

Proof of the truth of this observation. The contrary view would make God

And that this notabilite is trewe, it mai be proued thus: For ellis God schulde weerne in oure doable conuersacioun other thing or other wise than resoun

[1] *specied,* MS. (first hand).

[2] *or worthi to be werned* is added in the margin by a later hand; a still later corrector having erased *to.*

[3] *be* is interlineated in a later hand. Perhaps we should read *worthi be weerned.*

[4] Matt. xxiii. 9.

CHAP. IX.

contradict reason, and would make Scripture contradict itself.

wolde it schulde be weerned, and so God ther yn were vnresonable; which is not to be grauntid, sithen he comaundith us to be resonable and to be not vnresonable thorus al oure moral conuersacioun.[1] For if it myste be allowid us to bere us vnresonabili, y woot not what lawe schulde lette us fro eny synne. Also but if this notabilite were trewe, ellis God were contrarie to him silf. Forwhi in other place of Scripture, as Mark [vij^e. c̃.],[2] he wole that we be aknowe us to haue fadir and modir on erthe, in that that he there biddith us worschipe oure fadir and modir on erthe. And therfore this notabilite is trewe. And bi this notabilite is a wey souun forto vndirstonde in rist and iust maner this, that Crist in so general fourme vttrith and expressith, *Nile se swere alwise;*[3] and so forth of manye othere forbodis and weernyngis doon toward us vpon oure moral conuersacioun, whiche alle schulen be drawe to be vndirstonde as doom of resoun iugith hem to be vnderstonde, as herof ful rial processis and proofs ben mad in the book clepid *Iust apprising of Holi Scripture* in ther of the firste partie, and in the firste party of *Cristen religioun*, the iiij^e. trety, bi dyuerse chapitres.

The second observation. Christ often blames certain things without specifying the circumstances under which alone they are blameworthy; for example, he blames the Pharisees for walking in long robes.

The ij^e. notabilite is this: That in lijk maner Crist ofte blameth and rehercith as blamable certeyn gouernauncis, and sit he expressith tho gouernauncis not oonli in the maners and circumstauncis in whiche thei ben worthi be blamed, but he expressith hem in a fourme comoun to the maners and circumstancis in which thei ben blame worthi and to the maners and circumstauncis in whiche thei ben not blame worthi; and therfore tho deedis or gouernancis so in general

[1] Perhaps Pecock may have Rom. xii. 1–2 in his eye.

[2] A space left in the MS. for the number. Pecock may either refer to Mark vii. 9–13, or to Mark x. 17–19.

[3] Matth. v. 34.

or in a comoun and large fourme bi him expressid ben to be vndirstonde and ben to be specified and to be drawe into the maners and circumstauncis in which oonli thei ben bi doom of resoun worthi be blamed. In this maner Crist blamed Pharisees vndir this forme, that thei "louen forto walke in stolis, and forto "be clepid of men maistris, and forto haue the firste "seetis in feestis;"[1] and so forth of manye othere deedis like into this purpos, whiche deedis as so rehercid of Crist in thilk generalte mowen be leeful and gode and desirid of scribis and of Pharisees and of othere men; but for as myche as vndir summe maners and circumstauncis thei mowen be morali yuel bi dom of resoun, therfore it is to vndirstonde[2] that Crist in his blamyng of hem blamed in[3] the maner and circumstauncis vndir whiche thei ben bi doom of resoun morali yuel. And that it ouȝte so be vndirstonde, the skile is now bifore seid in mater of Cristis weernyngis.

The third observation. Christ often bids certain deeds in general terms, without expressing the special circumstances under which alone reason judges them to be profitable; for example, he bids men to sell their possessions and give alms.

And ȝit ferther the iij^e. notabilite is this: That in lijk maner it is that Crist biddith and counseilith ofte certein deedis and gouernauncis, and ȝit he expressith tho deedis and gouernauncis in maners and circumstauncis oonli in whiche tho deedis and gouernauncis ben comoun and general to be gode and to be badde morali; and therfore tho deedis and gouernauncis ben to be vndirstonde, that Crist biddith or counseilith or willith hem to be doon in the maners and circumstauncis in which thei ben bi doom of resoun gode oonli. In this maner Crist bade, counseilid, or willed, Luk xij^e. c̃. thus: *Sille ȝe the thingis whiche ȝe han in possessioun, and ȝeue ȝe almes.* Whether not this is trewe, that summan ouȝte bi doom of resoun and bi the wil of God for to not sille enything which he

[1] Mark xii. 38, 39.

[2] *to be vndirstonde*, MS. (first hand).

[3] Probably *in* should be cancelled, or *hem* inserted after *blamed*.

CHAP. IX.

hath in possessioun, that he ther with do almes? And ȝit Crist biddith there generali withoute excepcioun. And therfore it is seen to be trewe, what y haue now seid to be the iij^e. notabilite.

Lack of bearing in mind these three most valuable observations has been the cause of much unjust prejudice against the clergy.

Sotheli and withoute doute these iij. notabilitees weel considerid and attendid of thilke persoones, namelich of the lay party whiche wolen needis entirmete with the Newe Testament, is worth to hem a buyschel ful of gold; and that bothe forto purge hem of wrong opiniouns gaderid to hem bi occasioun of textis in the Newe Testament, and also for to preserue hem that thei falle not into suche vntrewe opiniouns takun bi occasioun of textis in the Newe Testament. And verili and sotheli to seie, the vnconsideracioun and the vnknowing and the[1] vnremembraunce of these thre now bifore sett notabilitees hath be a ful greet cause or occasioun of ful greet presumptuose iugementis in summe of the lay partie, and of greet cisme and of greet horrour and of abhominacioun born anentis the clergie bi summe of the lay partie; of whiche thei wolden be schamed, if thei consideriden weel these thre bifore sett notabilitees, namelich if ther with thei wolden ouer reede the first parti of the book clepid *The iust apprising of Holi Scripture.*

At the same time too many positive laws, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are to be avoided, as being the cause of much evil.

Neuertheles, not withstonding al what fro the bigynnyng of the vj^e. chapiter in this present iiij^e. partie hidir [to] is seid for to iustifie the v^e. seid principal gouernance, ȝit y holde this, that ouer greet multitude of mennys posityue lawis ouȝten not be mad; but prelatis and princis ouȝten be weel waar that ouer manye posytyue lawis be not[2] ȝouun to her peplis. For sotheli ther of cometh causeli nedis ful myche yuel, more than y se men considere it so to come. Of

---

[1] *the* is wrongly (?) cancelled by a later hand.

[2] *not* is interlineated in a later (?) hand.

whiche yuelis y desire in myn herte for to haue leiser and space to write my conseite; (which God graunte to be don!) but certis forto holde that it is vnleeful or vnexpedient eny suche posytyue lawis be maad and be ȝouun to peple[1] is fer fro my witt and my resoun.

THE SECOND AND THIRD ARGUMENTS OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. The same answers apply here that will shortly be applied to other arguments.

To the ij^e. semyng skile and to[2] the iij^e. semyng skile bifore sett in the next chapiter it is to be answerid euen lijk as it is answerid to the v^e. and vj^e. semyng skilis sett aftir in the v^e. parti of this book the iiij^e. chapiter, whos answeris ben sett in the same v^e. partie in the vj^e. and seuenthe chapitres; and therfore it is no nede forto fourme answeris in lengthe of the newe here.

And in this y eende here this fourthe partie of this book.

[1] *the peple*, MS. (first hand), perhaps rightly.

[2] *to* is interlineated in a later hand.

Here bigynneth the v^e. partie of this book.

The Firste Chaptre.

The religious orders are the sixth institution objected to. Many blame them as eccentric, unscriptural, anti-christian, and devilish.

The vj^e. principal gouernaunce or point to be tretid in this present v^e. partie, for which gouernaunce summe of the lay peple blamen and vndirnymen vniustli and vnworthili the clergie is this: That bothe of preestis and of lay persoones ben sectis clepid religiouns, maad to men and also to wommen forto be streiȝter to hem in eting and drinking, in speking, in wering, in going, in sleping, and in aboute walking, and in othere deedis of worldlihode and fleischlihode, than is the fredom of lawe of kinde with the settingis to of Cristis sacramentis. Al this summe of the lay peple blamen bothe for the dyuersite and nouelte so takun to be in other wise than is the comoun maner of othere men and wommen; and also thei beren an honde that the religiouns, whiche now ben had and vsid, han summe statutis and ordynauncis being aȝens charite, and therfore aȝens the lawe of God. And ferthermore, these blamers not oonli maken hem blamers, but also diffamers; for thei ascriuen and ȝeuen the fynding and the mentenaunce of alle such sectis or relegiouns to the feend and anticrist, and thei callen it to be werk of the feend; and manye mo reproues thei ȝeuen to religiouns and to therof the religiose persoones, which schame is for to reherce.

Five conclusions in favour of the monastic orders shall now be made. The first conclusion. Scripture forbids them not. Certain texts which seem to forbid them considered and explained.

That this now rehercid blamyng and vndirnymyng is vniust and bering an hond vntreuli, for that the now rehercid vj^e. principal gouernaunce is leeful and iust, good and expedient, ȝ schal proue bi v. principal conclusiouns, of whiche the firste is this: Holi Scripture weerneth not and lettith not the now rehercid vj^e. principal gouernaunce to be take and vsid with

the comoun lawe of Crist ȝouun to Cristen men. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: If eny text or processe of Holi Scripture schulde lette and weerne the now seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce, thilk text or proces schulde be oon of these whiche schulen be spoken in the iiij. argumentis now next aftir to be mad. But so it is that noon of tho lettith and weerneth the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce, as it schal be open bi the answeris to thilk same iiij. argumentis. Wherfore folewith that Holi Scripture weerneth not and lettith not the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce.

A text of St. James considered. The Lollard arguments derived from it adduced, to prove that the institution of the religious orders is not a pure religion before God. In the first place it is not the same with St. James's 'pure religion,' and in the next place it hinders it.

The firste of these iiij. argumentis is this: It is writun, Iames the i^e. c̃., thus: *A cleene religioun and an vnwemmed anentis God and the Fadir is this; to visite fadirles and modirlees children and widowis in her tribulacioun, and to kepe him silf vndefilid fro this world.* Out of this text a man may argue in twei maners. In oon maner thus: Iames assigneth this gouernaunce now rehercid in his text to be a cleene religioun and an vnwemmed anentis God and the Fadir; wherfore noon other gouernaunce saue this same, as bi the entent and meenyng of Iames in his now rehercid text, is a cleene religioun and vnwemmed anentis God and the Fadir, and so the religiouns now had[1] and vsid in the chirche ben not cleene and vnwemmed anentis God and the Fadir. In an other maner thus: What euer religion lettith and biforbarrith, ȝhe, and forbedith the religioun to be doon and vsid, which is a clene and an vnwemmed religioun anentis God and the Fadir, is an vnleeful religioun, and not worthi be[2] had and vsid. But so it is, that alle the religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche, in which is vow of wilful and expropriat

[1] *had* is added in a later hand. | [2] *to be*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. I.

pouerte with the vow of obedience to the comaundementis of certein devisid statutis and reulis, letten and biforebarren, ȝhe, and forbeden thilk religioun be doon and vsid, which is cleen and vnwemmed anentis God and the Fadir. Forwhi thei letten and biforebarren, ȝhe, and forbeden to her religiose persoones forto visite fadirles and moderles children and widowis in her tribulacioun, as is open ynowȝ to ech considerer. And ȝit this visiting is a cleene religioun and vnwemmed anentis God and the Fadir bi the text of Iames now alleggid. Wherfore alle tho othere now seid religiouns had and vsid in the chirche ben vnleeful and not worthi be had and vsid.

Another argument is derived from the prophecies made by the Apostles respecting false teachers that should arise.

The ij^e. argument is take of the wordis and textis of Seint Poul, Coloc. ij^e. c̃., i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃., ij^e. Thim. iij^e. c̃., Tite i^e. c̃., and of the wordis and text of Peter, ij^e. Pet. ij^e. c̃., and in manye othere placis, whiche textis y schal reherce here next bi and bi. First, ij^e. Pet. ij^e. c̃. in the bigynnyng, Petir writith thus: *False prophetis weren in the peple, as in ȝou schulen be maistris liers, that schulen bringe yn sectis of perdicioun, and thei denyen thilk Lord that bouȝte hem, and bringen on hem silf hasti perdicioun; and manye schulen sue her leccheries, bi which the wey of treuthe schal be blasphemed: and thei schulen make marchaundie of ȝou in coueitise bi feyned wordis, to whiche doom now awhile ago cesith not, and the perdicioun of hem nappith not.* Also i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃. in the bigynnyng, Poul seith to Bischop Thimothie thus: *The Spirit seith openli, that in the laste tymes summen schulen departe fro the feith, ȝeuyng tent to spiritis of errour and to techingis of deuelis, that speken leesing in ypocrisie, and han her conscience corrupt, forbeding to be weddid, to abstene fro metis whiche God made to take with doing of thankingis to feithful men and hem that han knowe the treuthe: (for ech crea-*

ture of God is good, and no thing is to be cast awey, which is taken with doing of thankingis, for it is halowid bi the word of God and bi preier;) thou, putting forth these thingis to britheren, schalt be a good mynystre of Iesus Crist, nurischid with wordis of feith and of good doctrine, which thou hast gete; but eschewe thou vncouenable fablis and eeld wommenys fablis. Also ij^e^. Thim. iij^e^. c̃., in the bigynnyng, Poul seith to Bischop Thimothie thus: *Wite thou this thing, that in the laste daies perilose tymes schulen neiȝe, and men schulen be louyng hem silf, coueitose, hiȝe of bering, proude, blasphemers, not obedient to fader and modir, vnkinde, cursid, withoute affeccioun, withoute pees, false blamers, vncontynent, vnmylde, withoute benignite, traitouris, ouerthwert, bollun with proude thouȝtis, bliynde louers of lustis more than of God, hauyng the liknes, of pitee, but denying the vertu of it; and eschewe thou these men. Of these thei ben that persen housis and leden wommen caitifis chargid with synnes, whiche ben led with dyuerse desiris, euermore leernyng and neuermore perfitli comynge to the science of treuthe. And as Iannes and Mambres*[1] *aȝenstoden Moyses, so these aȝenstonden treuthe, men corruptid in vndirstonding, reproued aboute the feith; but ferther thei schulen not profite, for the vnwisdom of hem schal be knowe to alle men, as hern was. But thou hast geten my teching, et cætera.* Also Tite i^e^. c̃., in the myddil, Poul seith to Thimothie Bischop of Crete thus: *Ther ben manye vnobedient and vein spekeris and desseyueris, moost thei that ben of circumcisioun, which it bihoueth to be reproued, whiche subuerten alle housis, teching whiche thingis it bihoueth not, and that for the loue of foul wynnyng. And oon*

[1] *Mambres* is the Vulgate reading, whence the early English translations were made.

CHAP. I.

of hem her propre profete seide, 'Men of Crete ben 'euermore lieris, yuel beestis, of slowe wombe:' this witnessing is trewe. For what cause blame hem sore, that thei be hool in feith, not ȝeuyng tent to fablis of Iewis and to maundementis of men, which turnen awey hem fro truthe.[1] Also ij^{e}. Pet. iij^{e}. c̃., soone aftir the bigynnyng, Peter seith thus: *First wite ȝe this thing, that in the laste daies disseyueris schulen come, in disseit going after her owne coueitingis, seiyng, 'Where is the biheest or the 'comyng of him? for sithen the fadris dieden, alle 'thingis lasten fro the bigynnyng of creature.' But it is hid fro hem willing this thing, that heuens weren bifore, et cætera.* Also Iude ij^{e}.[2] c̃., in the bigynnyng, the Apostle Iudas writith thus: *Wo to hem that wenten the wey of Cayn, and that ben sched out by errour of Balaam for mede, and perischiden in the aȝenseiyng of Chore! These ben in her metis feesting to gidere to filthe, withoute drede feding hem silf; these ben cloudis withoute watir, that ben born aboute of the wyindis, heruest trees with oute fruyt, tweies deede, drawen up bi the roote, wawis of the wood see fomyng out her confusiouns, erring sterris, to whiche the tempest of derknesses is kept withoute eende. These ben gruccheers, ful of pleintis, wandring aftir her desiris; and the mouth of hem spekith pride, worschiping persoones bi cause of wynnyng. And ȝe, moost dere britheren, be myndeful of these wordis, whiche ben bifore seid of Apostlis of oure Lord Iesus Crist, whiche seiden to ȝou that in the laste tymes ther schulen come gilouris, wandring after her owne de-*

[1] Written on an erasure by a later hand; the orthography is against the usage of the MS.

[2] In almost all the MSS. of Wiclif's version, (from which this and the other quotations in this paragraph are made, almost verbatim,) Jude is divided into two chapters.

siris, not in pitee. These ben whiche departen hem silf, beestli men, not hauyng spi[rit]; but ȝe, moost dere brither[en], aboue bilde you silf on ȝoure moost holy feith, and preie ȝe in the Holi Goost, and kepe ȝou silf in the loue of God, and abide ȝe the merci of oure Lord Iesus Crist into lijf euerlasting. And repreue ȝe these men that ben deemed, but saue ȝe hem, and take ȝe hem fro the fier. Also Coloc. ij^e^. c̃., Poul writith thus: *Se ȝe that no man disseyue ȝou bi philsophie and vein fallace, aftir the tradicioun of men, aftir the elementis of the world, and not aftir Crist.* And sumwhat aftir there thus: *Therfore no man iuge ȝou in mete or in drinke or in part of feest dai or of neomenye or of Sabbatis, whiche ben schadewis of thingis to comyng; for the bodi is of Crist. Noman disseyue ȝou, willing to teche in mekenes and religioun of aungelis tho thingis whiche he hath not seen, walking veinli, bolned with witt of his fleisch, and not holding the heed, of which al the bodi bi bondis of ioinyng to gidere vndir mynystrid and mad wexith into encresing of God. For if ȝe ben dede with Crist fro the elementis of this world, what ȝit as men lyuing to the world deemen ȝe that ȝe touche not, neither taaste, neither trete with hondis tho thingis whiche alle*[1] *ben into deeth bi the ilk vce, after the comaundementis and the techingis of men? Whiche han a resoun of wijsdom in vein religioun and mekenesse, and not to spare the bodi; not in honour to the ful filling of the fleisch.* CHAP. I

Also, Math. xxiiij^e^. c̃., Crist in maner of prophecie spake of vntrewe techeris, which schulden come in the daies of the Apostlis bifore the destruccioun of Ierusalem, and seide to hise disciplis thus: *Men* And from those made by Christ himself.

[1] *alle* is added in the margin by a later (?) hand.

CHAP. I. *schulen bitake ȝou into tribulacioun and schulen slee ȝou, and ȝe schulen be in hate to al folk for mi name. And thanne manie schulen be sclaundrid and bitraie ech othere, and thei schulen hate ech othere; and manie false prophetis schulen rise and disseyue manye.* Like sentence of the same vntrewe techeris is writun Mark xiij^{e}. c̃., thus: *Loke ȝe that no man disseyue ȝou. For manye schulen come in my name seiyng, that y am, and thei schulen disseyue manie; and whanne ȝe heere bateilis and opiniouns of bateilis drede ȝe not, for it bihoueth these thingis to be doon, but not ȝit anoon is the eende.* Also Math. xxiiij^{e}. c̃., Crist in maner of prophecie spake of vntrewe techeris, whiche schulden come nyȝ to the dai of doom and the eende of the world, and seide ther of to hise disciplis thus: *Thanne schal be greet tribulacioun, what maner was not fro the bigynnyng of the world to now, neither schal be maad; and but if tho daies hadden be abbreggid, ech fleisch schulde not be mad saaf; but tho daies schulen be mad schort for the chosen men. Thanne if eny man seie to ȝou, 'Lo, here is Crist or there!' nyle ȝe bileeue; for false Cristis and false prophetis schulen rise, and thei schulen ȝeue grete tokenes and wondris, so that also the chosun be led into errour, if it mai be doon. Lo, y haue bifore seid to ȝou. Therfore if thei seie to ȝou, 'Lo, he is in desert!' nile ȝe go out; 'Lo, in priuy placis!' nyle ȝe trowe. For as leit gooth out of the eest and apperith into the west, so schal be also the comyng of Mannys Sone. Wher euer the bodi schal be, also the eglis schulen be gaderid thider. And anoon after the tribulacioun of tho daies the sunne schal be mad derk, and the mone schal not ȝeue liȝt, et cætera.* Like sentence touching the same now seid vntrewe techeris is writun Mark xiij^{e}. c̃., thus: *Thilk daies of tribulacioun schulen be suche, whiche maner weren not fro the*

bigynnyng of creature whiche God hath made til now, neither schulen be; and but the Lord hadde abreggid tho daies al fleisch hadde not be saaf; but for the chosen, whiche he cheese, the Lord hath mad schort tho daies. And than if eny man seie to ȝou 'Lo, here is Crist! lo, there!' bileeue ȝe not. For false Cristis and false prophetis schulen rise, and schulen ȝeue tokenes and wondris to disseyue, if it mai be doon, ȝhe, hem that ben chosen. Therfore take ȝe kepe; lo y haue bifore seide to ȝou alle thingis. But in tho daies aftir thilk tribulacioun the sunne schal be maad derk, and the moone schal not ȝeue hir liȝt, et cætera.

A third argument taken from Christ's condemnation of the commandments of men. This argument has in fact been adduced already

The iij^e^. argument is thoruȝ weel nyȝ ech word the same and oon with the firste semyng skile sett bifore in the iiij^e^. party of this book, the viij^e^. chapiter. Which argument gooth up [on] ij. longe processis in Holi Scripture, of whiche the oon is writun Math. xv^e^. c̃., and the other is writun Mark vij^e^.[1] c̃.; and therfore who wole se this iij^e^. argument, as he mai be mad aȝens the vj^e^. principal gouernaunce, turne he thidir and he schal it there se.

A fourth argument based on the prophecies of St. Hildegard (circa 1140 A.D.)

The iiij^e^. argument into the iustifiyng is this: The holi maide and religiose nunne Seint Hildegart, visitid with the spirit of prophecie, wroot manie prophecies whiche weren examyned and approued in a general counceil holdun at Treuer undir Pope Eugeny the [Thridde],[2] at which counseil Seint Bernard was present, as it is writun in famose cronicles.[3] And among the prophecies and reuelaciouns spokun bi the seid holi maide Seint Hildegart sche spekith that aftir hir daies schulde rise iiij. ordris of beggers; and not oonli

---

[1] *x^e^.*, MS.

[2] A space left in the MS. for the number.

[3] See Coleti, *Concil.* tom. 12, p. 1675, s. ann. 1148 A.D., and Alberic. *Chron.* ad ann. 1141, (cited by Fabric. *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inf. Æt.* vol. 3, p. 771).

CHAP. I.

of the persoones whiche schulden lyue in tho iiij. ordris sche seith yuel; that is to seie, "that thei "schulden[1] be flaterers,[2] and enviers, and ypocritis, "and bacbiters;" but also of the ordre sche seith, meenyng it to be yuel. For sche seith, "that of wijse "and trewe men this ordre schal be cursid;" as thouȝ sche schulde therbi meene, that the ordre schulde be worthi be cursid. And ferthirmore sche seith, "that "for her synful and gileful lyuyng the comoun peplis "hertis schulden falle awey fro hem, and thei schulden "falle and ceese and that her ordre schulde be[3] alto "broke for her bigilingis, and her wickidnessis."[4] Wherfore tho iiij. ordris or religiouns or beggeris ben badde and not gode, neither worth be had and vsid in the chirche.

ij. CHAPITER.

The text of St. James considered, and the Lollard inferences refuted. *Religion* may be understood in two senses: in one, as a binding up of man's will by vows from his doing that which he otherwise

FOR answere to the firste argument it is to vndirstonde, that religioun mai be take in ij. maners: In oon maner religioun is such a binding vp or a byndinge aȝen of a mannys fre wil with certein ordinauncis, maad bi God or bi man or with vowis or oothis, that he go not so wijde and so brode in hise choicis and refusis, neither in the executing of hise choicis or of

[1] *schulden* is added in the margin by a later hand.

[2] *flateres*, MS.

[3] *be* is interlineated in a later hand.

[4] "Insurgent gentes quæ comedent peccata populi, tenentes ordinem mendicum, ambulantes sine rubore, invenientes nova mala, ut à sapientibus et Christi fidelibus ordo perversus maledicatur. Sed diabolus radicabit in eis quatuor vitia, scilicet adulationem, ut eis largius detur: invidiam, quando datur aliis et non sibi: hypocrisim, ut placeant per simulationem: et detractionem, ut se ipsos commendent, et alios vituperent . . . . Populus vero de die in diem durior erit, et expertus erit seductiones eorum et cessabit dare. . . . . Sic ordo vester contritus est propter seductiones et iniquitates vestras." S. Hildegard. *Prophet.* cited by Fabric. *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inf. Æt.* vol. 3, pp. 774–776. q. v.

hise refusis with inne the boundis of lawe of kinde, how brode ellis withoute forbeding of lawe of kinde go he myȝte. And religioun in this maner takun is religioun propirli takun, and is descryued in lijk sentence bifore in the [vj^{e}.][1] chapiter of the [iv^{e}.][1] parti of this present book. In an other maner religioun is a binding up or a binding aȝens[2] of a mannys fre wil with the lawis of kinde, (that is to seie, with the doomes of cleer and weel disposid resoun,) that he chese not or refuse not neither execute hise choisis or refusis aȝens the now seid lawe of kinde. And so with religioun in this ij^{e}. maner takun, which is a large and an vnpropre maner of taking and of vndirstonding religioun, mannys wil is not refreyned saue bi lawe of kinde oonli. And bi religioun takun in the firste now bifore seid maner, which is the verry[3] propre maner of taking religioun, mannys fre wil is refreyned with more than with lawe of kinde; for he is also refreyned with othere statutis or ordinauncis maad bi God or man or with othere vowis or oothis.

might lawfully do; in another and less strict sense, as a confining of his will within the bounds of the law of nature.

Of religioun takun in the firste maner, as anentis statutis and ordinauncis maad bi God himsilf, Holi Writt spekith, Exodi xij^{e}. c̃. and xxix^{e}. c̃., and as anentis ordinauncis maad bi man, Acts xxvj^{e}. c̃., as it is bifore rehercid in the [4] chapiter of the [4] parti of this present book. Of religioun takun in the ij^{e}. maner spekith Holi Writt, Acts x^{e}. c̃., where Cornely, than being an hethen man not cristned, is clepid "a "religiose man and dreding God;" and that for the weel keping and filling the lawe of kinde, that is to seie, the lawe of resoun. Also of this religioun it is writun Ecclesiastici i^{e}. c̃. in the myddil.

Examples of both these senses of *religion* in Scripture.

[1] Spaces are left in the MS. for the numbers.

[2] Perhaps a clerical error for *aȝen*.

[3] *verry* is interlineated in a later hand.

[4] Spaces left in the MS. for the numbers. Pecock seems to be thinking of what *follows*. Part v. c. viii.

CHAP. II.

Both senses combined in Pecock's *Rule of Christian religion*.

In the iij^e. maner religioun is take for religioun of the firste maner and religioun of the ij^e. maner to gidere seet; and in this maner y toke and vndirstode this name "religioun," whanne to a certein book which y haue mad y puttid this name, *The reule of Cristen religioun*.

St. James in the text quoted uses the word *religion* in the second manner, meaning that the virtues there named are parts of such religion; but not meaning that no other virtues besides them enter into such religion.

Iames in his text alleggid bifore in the firste semyng skile meened not of religioun takun in the now seid firste maner, but of religioun taken in the ij^e. now seid maner; and ȝit bi thilk same text Iames meened not, that a man forto visite fadirles and modirles children and widowis in her tribulacioun, and a man forto kepe him vnwemmed fro this world schulde be al an hool religioun takun in the ij^e. maner; but that these deedis bi him there expressid schulden be summe parties of an hool religioun takun in the secunde maner. Forwhi a man forto worschipe and releeue his fadir and modir is a parti of the same al hool religioun takun in the ij^e. maner, and a man forto forbere fals sweryng and idil swering is an other parti of the same hool religioun takun in the ij^e. maner; and lijk maner ech moral vertu is a parti of the same religioun takun in the ij^e. maner. And therfore bi this, that now is thus declarid, it is open ynowȝ that the firste maner of arguyng rehercid bifore upon the seid text of Iames is not worth, whanne it is argued thus: A man to visite fadirles and modirles children and widewis is a religioun; for it is a parti of the now seid greet religioun; therfore noon other vertu than this visiting is a religioun.

Neither is it true that any virtue, which hinders the exercise of the particular virtues there named, is unlawful; for while a man does any good deed, he for the time is hindered from performing any other good deed.

For answere to the ij^e. maner of arguyng maad upon the same text of Iames it is to be seid, that the firste premisse is vntrewe, which is there takun and fourmed thus: What euer religioun lettith, bifore barrith, ȝhe, and forbedith an othir religioun to be had or doon, which is a cleene and an vnwemmed religioun at God and the Fadir, is vnleeful and not

CHAP. II.

If this argument were valid, no one could hold any secular office, since other offices equally necessary cannot be performed by the same person.

worthi he had and vsid. Forwhi it is impossible ij. religiouns be;[1] but that the oon of hem had in a persoon lettith and bifore barrith, ȝhe, and forbedith the other religioun to be for the while in the same persoon, sithen oon and the same man may not be to gidere in ij. religions. And therfore the seid firste premysse of the ij^e. argument maad up on the text of Iames is vntrewe and to be denyed, and so ceessith the strengthe of thilk argument fro geting of his entent. Also if thilk premysse were trewe, certis thanne weelnyȝ ech moral vertu of Goddis lawe were vnleeful and not to be had and vsid. Forwhi what euer moral vertu a man wole take and vse, al the while that he is is werking thilk vertu he is therbi lettid, forbarrid, and weerned forto wirche an other moral vertu of Goddis lawe; as, whilis a man is weddid and wole bigete children, he is therbi lettid and weerned to be chaast, and whilis a man wole do almes deedes in Ynglond he is lettid and weerned therbi for to do almesdeedis in Fraunce, and whilis a man rideth in a iorney for a good cause he is therbi lettid and weerned for to heere a preching; ȝhe, and if the wirching of thilk vertu first takun schulde stonde stille perpetuely, he schulde lette and weerne perpetuely the wirching of the other vertu which myȝte ellis be taken; and so, if the seid premysse were trewe, the vertu which is first takun of a man is euermore vnleeful. And also ech office in a kingis hous schulde be needis displesaunt to the king, forwhi ech office in his hous lettith, forbarrith,[2] and weerneth the occupier fro an office in the same hous, which office the king loueth weel to be doon. And so, open it is, that the seid firste premisse is to be denyed; and thanne is thilk argument lettid fro his purpos.

---

[1] *to be*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *for barrith*, MS., (without hyphen).

CHAP. II.

In reply to the argument about false teachers named in various texts it may be said that they all with one exception refer to vicious persons and not to vicious sects. That one text (of Peter) speaks of sects which deny the Lord that bought them; and it is impossible to show that this description applies to the religious orders now existing in the church.

For answere to the [1] ij^e. bifore mad argument going upon there rehercid textis it is to be markid wel, that among alle tho textis oonli the firste text aloone, ij^e. Pet. ij^e. c̃., spekith of viciose sectis whiche schulden rise aftir the daies of Peter, and alle other textis of thilk noumbre speken oonli of viciose persoones teching vntreuly and lyuyng vicioseli and not of eny viciose [2] sect. Wherfore noon of alle these textis berith in him silf eny colour forto smyte or reproue or blame eny sect or religion now had and vsid in the chirche, saue oonli the firste text ij^e. Pet. ij^e. c̃. And sithen the sectis of which Peter there prophecied he in tho wordis prophecied, that "sectis of perdicion schulden "be denying the Lord which bouȝte hem," no man mai in eny colour afferme that thilk wordis of prophecie of Peter fallith vpon the sectis or religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche, but if he afore proue and schewe that these now had and vsid religiouns in the chirche ben sectis of perdicioun and denyen him which bouȝte hem. And therfore proue he firste and bifore that these now seid religiouns ben sectis of perdicioun, and that thei ben denying Crist, and bileeuen not into Crist; and thanne lete him haue the maistrie, that Petir in the wordis of his bifore allegid text prophecied or spake of the religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche. And certis open ynouȝ it is, that ellis he mai not haue euydence as bi thilk text that Peter meened or thouȝte on hem. Forwhi this folewith not in eny good argument: Petir seide that sectis of perdicioun denying Crist schulden come, therfore these now had religiouns ben tho sectis. A lewder and febler skile or argument can noman make; forwhi bi this argument, if he were auȝt, schulde be proued that ech sect or religioun mad, or which

---

[1] *thi*, MS.

[1] A later hand has wrongly altered this into *vnviciose*.

myȝte be mad; were or schulde be vnleeful and a sect of perdicioun, how euer good and profitable and leeful he were or schulde be mad; and so the same secte schulde be good and badde, leeful and vnleeful, which is repungnaunce. And therto to this bad argument muste be sett more, if he schulde eny thing proue and conclude, as is forto seie and argue thus: Petir seide that sectis of perdicioun denying Crist schulden come; and so it is, that these religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche ben sectis of perdicioun denying Crist; therfore of hem spake or meened Petir. Or ellis thus: Of hem is the prophecie of Peter verified and vpon hem fallith thilk prophecie of Petir; and but if the arguer can proue the ij^{e}. premysse of this argument, and eer than he proue thilk ij^{e}. premysse of this argument, that is to seie, that these now had and vsid religiouns in the chirche ben sectis of perdicioun denying Crist, certis he may not waite aftir that the conclusioun of this argument be proued or be trewe, that is to seie, that the seid prophecie of Petir fille upon the religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche. And thanne ferther, forto proue that these religiouns ben sectis of perdicioun, he muste take his euydencis and hise motyues in, othir place out and fro the seid text of Peter; forwhi it muste be proued that the now had religiouns ben sectis of perdicioun, eer and bifore we wite what and of whom the seid text of Peter meeneth. And thus it is open ynouȝ that, as bi the firste text in the bifore sett noumbre of textis, may noon hurte bifalle to the now had and vsid religions.

And thanne ferthermore thus: Alle the othere textis in the same now seid noumbre speken of persoones teching vntreuli and lyuying viciosely, whether thei lyue in eny religiose sect or out of religiose sect; for of alle suche viciose persoones, whether thei lyuen in sect of religioun or out of sect of religioun, tho textis mowen be verified riȝt weel, as is open ynouȝ bi the general

All the other texts speak of persons living viciously, whether belonging to any religious order or not; and although they may apply to some persons now living in religous orders, they no more

CHAP. II.

condemn the religious orders themselves, than Christ's reproofs to vicious priests condemn the priesthood which was ordained by God himself.

and large speking of the textis in her wordis. But so it is, that thouȝ persoones in a religioun techen amys and lyuen amys, for that thei techen and lyuen other wise than her religioun wolde that thei schulde teche and lyue, ȝit therbi cometh noon hurte to the religioun, as that therfore the religioun were the wors or were badde and vnleeful; but if it schulde be seid and holde therto answeringli and folewingly that the sect of Cristis Apostlis were badde and vnleeful, for that Iudas lyued theryn amys; and but if it schulde be seid that Crist blamed and reproued the state of preesthode and the state of bischophode in the oolde lawe as badde and vnleeful, bicause he blamed and reproued the persoones of tho statis; whiche noman ouȝte holde, for God him silf made tho statis, and he made no badde and vnleeful thing. Wherfore folewith needis that as bi alle tho textis of the bifore spokun noumbre, comyng in processe aftir the firste text of hem, is no strok ȝouun to eny sect or eny religioun forto therbi seie that eny sect or religioun is badde or vnleeful. Also open it is, that tho textis strecchen hem to viciose persoones being out of religioun, as weel as to viciose persoones in religioun. How schulden thanne tho textis serue in special forto distroie eny religiouns more than forto distroie eny state, ȝhe, ech state which is not religioun, as the state of dekenhode, the state of preesthode, and othere; if in suche statis ben persoones vicioseli lyuyng? Certis no witti man can herto seie nay. And thanne ferther, sithen tho now seid textis speken of viciose persoones teching amys, bileeuyng amys, and lyuyng amys, whether thei ben in sect of religioun or in other state out of religioun, if eny man wole take vpon him forto proue that tho textis or summe of hem ben verified of persoones now lyuyng in religioun or in preesthode out of religioun, make he first ther of his proof; and whanne he hath maad ther of his proof

bi euydencis being withoute tho textis, (as he muste needis for cause now late bifore in this present chapiter tauȝt,) Goddis forbode that he be weerned forto afferme, holde, and seie, that tho textis speken of persoones, and lete him holde and seie tho persoones for to be reproued of Holi Writt and of the Apostlis; and noman schal him therfro weerne. And it is al that he mai haue toward his purpos bi the same seid noumbre of textis. But whanne he hath al this at his lust, what hath he therbi forto reproue and blame eny sect or religioun? Certis riȝt nouȝt, as it is openli schewid in this processe of answering. Wherfore noon of alle tho textis sewyng in rewe aftir the first text ȝeuen eny strook to eny religioun now had and vsid in the chirche.

But it is argued that St. Paul wrote to Timothy not merely of persons but of religious orders also as such, which command all their followers to abstain from matrimony and certain meats.

Neuertheles for as myche as the blamers and reprouers of the vj^c^. principal gouernance ben aboute forto proue that the ij^c^. text of the bifore sett noumbre, which text is of Poul, i^c^. Thim. iiij^c^. c̃., spekith of sectis and religiouns, namelich now being, and not oonli of persoones being in religioun, therfore now next after al this going bifore her euydencis ben to be rehercid, that answere and solucioun be to hem paied. Thei arguen thus: Tho persoones of whom Poul spekith in the seid secunde text which is writun i^e^. Thim. iiij^c^. c̃. ben alle tho persoones whiche forbeden to be weddid, and also tho that bidden absteyne fro metis whiche God made to take with doing of thankingis, as it is open ynow bi wordis of the text; but so doon the persoones being in the religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche, and that not as bi her owne witt, wil, and entent oonli, but as bi strengthe and entent and reule of her religioun; wherfore not oonli the persoones of these now had and vsid religiouns ben blamed and reproued bi the seid text of Poul, i^e^. Thim. iiij^c^. c̃.; but also the religiouns of the same persoones ben theryn and therbi also

CHAP. II.

blamed and reproued, sithen tho persoones ben blamed bi the seid text in that and for that, that thei techen and doon as her sect and religioun wole that thei teche and do.

Supposed proof that the words of St. Paul condemn the restrictions imposed by the rules of the religious orders on their brethren.

And that tho persoones by strengthe and entent of her sectis and her religiouns forbeden to be weddid and forto abstene of metis whiche God made to take, thei ben aboute forto proue thus: Tho religiose men bi strengthe and entent of her religiouns dressyng hem therto bidden to her vndirlingis and her felawis and britheren being in the religiouns forto lyue chaast for euer; wherfore in so bidding thei musten needis forbede to the same vnderlingis and felawis forto be weddid; also summe of the same religiosis bi strengthe and reulis of her religiouns forbeden to her vndirlingis and felawis of religioun forto ete fleisch for euere, and summe bi strengthe of her religioun forbeden the eting of fleisch for sum cesoun and tyme of a monthe and of summe certeyn daies; wherfore, as it semeth to hem, tho[1] religiosis maken bi strengthe of her religiouns the same forbodis which Poul in his seide text blameth, that is to seie, forbeden to ete metis whiche God ordeynede to take. And if this be trewe, therof muste folewe that as Poul bi and in his seid text reproueth her now spokun forbedingis,[2] so bi and in his same text he reproueth her religiouns reuling tho persoones forto so forbede.

Reply to the proof. St. Paul speaks of those who consider matrimony or the eating of certain meats as abstractedly unlawful, which the brethren of religious orders do not do, but abstain only in con-

Answere to this arguyng schal be this: Poul in the ij^e^. text of the seid noumbre, i^e^. Thim. iiij^e^. c̃., meeneth of suche forbeders whiche wolden forbede wedding and forbede eting of certein metis as deedis vnleeful in hem silf, or as being alwey contrarie to Goddis lawe; but so forbeden not oure religiose prelatis bi strengthe and entent of her religioun to her britheren in the

[1] *that tho*, MS. | [2] *forbedindis*, MS.

same religiouns, but these[1] religiose prelatis forbeden wedding and fre eting of alle metis to her religiose britheren, bi cause tho britheren han bounde hem silf to God into the contrarie, that is forto neuere be weddid and forto absteyne fro certein metis; and also neither tho prelatis forbeden neither tho suggetis vowiden to forbere wedlok and the vce of fleisch in certein whilis as vnleeful deedis and as deedis contrarie to Goddis lawe, but as deedis whos forberingis schulden make hem the more sureli kepen hem fro breking of Goddis lawe; and therfore the forbeders now in religioun ben not in the caace and in the deedis of whiche Poul spekith in the ij^e. seid text, which is i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃. And but if Poul meened in the seid ij^e. text as it is now seid that he meened, and but if it were leeful to forbede as oure religiose prelatis now forbeden, certis ellis he were contrarie to him silf; forwhi, i^e. Thim. v^e. c̃., he forbedith widowis to be weddid after[2] thei han bounde hem silf to chastite.

Sequence of vows voluntarily made. The contrary interpretation of the text would make St. Paul inconsistent with himself.

Certis in the daies of the Apostlis weren men clepid pseudo or false Apostlis, whiche wenten aboute cuntrees in the daies of the Apostlis, and peruertiden peplis fro the teching into which Poul had sette hem, as the Corinthies and the Galathies. Of whiche pseudo or false Apostlis summe tauȝten that it was not leeful that men ete fleisch which was offrid to idols, neither bigge thilk fleisch whanne it were brouȝt into market after tyme of offring forto be solde; summe other of these pseudo tauȝten and helden that Cristen peple musten needis take the circumcision and the birthens of the oold lawe with the newe, as of euereither of these Poul spekith in his Epistle to Corinthies; and of the ij^e. he spekith in his Epistle to Galathies.

There were men living in the days of the Apostles to whom much of their words truly applied.

[1] *these same*, MS. (first hand). | [2] *after that*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. II. Ferther more summe othere of hem tauȝten that men schulden not be boundun bi mennys lawis, and therfore thei schulden not obeie to princis and dukis, whom Poul reproueth, Rom. xiij^{e}. c̃. and i^{e}. Thim. i^{e}. c̃., and Petir in his firste Epistle the ij^{e}. c̃. Ferthermore the herisies of Hymeneus[1] and of Alisaundre weren in the daies of the Apostlis, whom Poul curside for her heresie, as it is open i^{e}. Thim. i^{e}. c̃. in the eende. Also Ioon the Euangeliste in his ij^{e}. Epistle meeneth that in hise daies weren heretikis going aboute to disseyue trewe bileeuers. Also Coloc. ij^{e}. c̃. is mensioun mad of heretikis whiche weren aboute to bringe yn in tho daies vnresonable religiouns aȝens trewe feith, and that bi colour that reuelacioun was maad to hem ther upon. And so open it is, that dyuerse sectis of heretikis rosen and regneden in tyme of the Apostlis, and diden miche care and lett and persecuciouns to the verry Apostlis, and therfore of hem myȝte be meened myche of this that is seid in the bifore alleggid textis.

Also various heretics in after times held the opinions condemned in those texts of the Apostles.

Ferthermore, longe aftir the daies of the Apostlis heretikis weren, whiche helden that vttirly it is synne eny man or womman be weddid, and eny man haue to do in fleischli deling with a womman, as helde the sect of Eraclitis;[2] which also therwith helden that oonli chast persoones schulen come into heuen, and that children diyng bifore her ȝeeris of discrecioun schulen neuere come to heuen. And summe othere heretikis with her foleweris making to gidere her sect han be, whiche helden that vttirli it is synne forto ete fleisch, as helde the sect of Tacianys. Summe othere sect of heretikis hath be, which weel allowid

[1] *Hermyneus*, MS.

[2] This appears to be a blunder or clerical error for Hieracitis. See for them and Tatian's disciples, August. *Lib. de Hæres.* c. 47 and c. 25. Op. tom. viii. pp. 13 and 7. (Ed. Antv. 1700).

wedlok, but thei helden dampnable if eny widowe were weddid; and herwith thei helden, if eny persoon hadde do oonys eny notable greet synne, that he neuer schulde haue therof forȝeuenes,[1] how euer miche[2] repentaunce and penaunce he dide for it. And so oonli these heretikis and othere to hem like weren in the case of forbeding of which Seint Poul spekith in the ij^e. text; and not the othere religiose forbeders of this present tyme, whiche forbeden wedding and eting of fleisch bi cause of vow or boond therto bifore maad of hem to whom the forbedingis [are] maad, and whiche neither forsaken neither forbeden wedding and eting of fleisch as deedis vnleeful and contrarie to Goddis lawe. And thus myche is ynouȝ for answere to the ij^e. argument.

The argument that the traditions of the religious orders are men's traditions has been already answered.

Answere to the iij^e. argument schal be the same answere which is sett bifore in the iiij^e. parti of this book the ix^e. chapiter, and is ȝouun there for answere to the firste semyng skile sett in the viij^e. chapiter of the same iiij^e. partie. Therfore who so wole se the seid answere, turn he thider; for there he mai it se.

The argument derived from prophecies of St. Hildegard cannot be relied on, for they contain false doctrine.

To the iiij^e. bifore maad argument, proceding vpon the reuelacioun and prophecie ȝouun to Seinte Hildegard, it is to be seid thus: Whether it be trewe or no what sche seide and wroot of the persoones holding the iiij. ordris of beggeris and of her ordre, this y dare seie, that among the reuelaciouns and prophecies, whiche ben ascriued to hir, is conteyned vntrouthe contrarie to the trewe feith; and for to it proue y durst leie in plegge my lijf, how euer it be that her prophecies and reuelacions weren approued.

---

[1] *forȝeues*, MS. | [2] *how miche*, MS. (first hand).

iij. CHAPITER.

Distinct proof shall be made that the words of the Apostles relating to false teachers were verified of many sects and persons living before the religious orders were founded, and were more truly applicable to them than to the religious orders. Enumeration of these sects by name, together with their tenets.

FERTHERMORE for as myche as y haue wist this, that summe of the lay peple, whanne thei han rad or han herd red summe of the bifore alleggid textis in the [ie.][1] chapiter of the [ve.][1] parti of this book, (bi cause thei couthen applie tho textis in oon manner or other, thouȝ not moost euenli neither verili[2] and accordingli to sectis and persoones now being and lyuyng in the chirche; and therwith thei knewen not bi reding or heering of oold stories how that sectis and persoones lyuyng in hem weren in eeldir daies, to whom the same textis myȝten euenlier and more accordingli be applied,) han thouȝt and han holde stiffeli for bettir or wors in her conceitis and wordis, that tho textis weren seid and writun for these sectis now presentli being in the chirche and for the persoones lyuyng in hem as it were oonli, as thouȝ neuere had be eny sectis bifore in oold daies into whiche tho textis myȝten be verified; and therbi tho reders han fallen out into bering of greet indignacioun anentis this[3] present sectis and religiouns, and han seid ful foule and ful vnskilfulli of hem aȝens honeste and aȝens wisdom and aȝens charite;—wherfore[4] into remediyng of suche mennys vnkunnyng and into remediyng of her obstynat holding, and forto make hem the redier and the willier forto counceyle with leerned men vpon oold stories and oold recordis in the chirche, and forto make hem heere such oolde stories and recordis and leerne what hath be doon in eeldir daies more than they witen off, y schal now

---

[1] Spaces left in the MS. for the references.

[2] *veri*, MS.

[3] Apparently a clerical error for *these* or *thes*.

[4] The sense strictly requires *therfore*; but see Glossary.

reherce here sumwhat what maners of dyuerse yuel and vntrewe sectis of Cristen men weren in eeldir daies, (summe in the daies of the Apostlis, and summe aftir the daies of the Apostlis,) that alle suche now seid reders and heerers mowen therbi leerne, that the wordis of Petir, ij^e. Pet. ij^e. c̃., and the wordis of Poul, i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃. and ij^e. Thim. iij^e. c̃., weren verified of manye sectis and persoones, eer eny of these religiose sectis weren whiche ben in the chirche. CHAP. III.

Certis in the daies of the Apostlis in Cristen men was the sect of Menandrianis, whiche helden that the world was mad not of God but of aungelis.[1] The Menandrians.

Also the sect of Basilidianis, whiche helden that Crist suffrid not verili his passioun and his deeth, but apparentli and seemyngli oonli.[2] And the Basilidians.

Also the sect of Nycholaitis, which helden that weddid men myȝten chaunge to gidere her wyues.[3] And the Nicolaitans.

Also the sect of Carpocracianys, which helden that Crist was not God, but man oonli, and was bigetun bitwixe man and womman deling to gidere fleischli.[4] And the Carpocratians.

Also the sect of Chirencianys,[5] whiche helden that aftir the general resurreccioun[6] men and wommen thanne rising schulden lyue in greet fleischli welthe and delectacioun upon erthe a thousand of ȝeeris.[7] And the Cerinthians.

Aftir the daies of the Apostlis rooser also manye vntrewe sectis of Cristen men, as the sect of Valentynyanys, whiche helden that Crist took no thing of Maries bodi, but passid forth thoruȝ her as thoruȝ a pipe or a canal.[8] And the Valentinians.

---

[1] August. *Lib. de Hær.* c. 2.
[2] Aug. l.c. c. 4.
[3] Aug. l.c. c. 5.
[4] Aug. l.c. c. 7.
[5] The MS. reading is apparently a little corrupted. At all events Pecock intended to express the *Cerinthians*.
[6] The MS. reading here and below looks like *resurrectioun*; but more probably *resurreccioun* is intended. The analogy of the orthography favours the latter, and *c* and *t* are often almost identical in form.
[7] Aug. l.c. c. 8.
[8] Aug. l.c. c. 11.

CHAP. III.

And the Apostolici. Also the sect of Apostelynys, whiche helden as dampnable that eny man hadde in his propirte eny worldli good.[1]

And the Cerdonians and Marcionites. Also the sect of Cerdyonystis and of Marcionystis, whiche helden that ij. Goddis ben, oon good, and an other yuel; and the oon is maker of riȝt and of good thingis, and the other is maker of vnriȝt and of badde thingis.[2]

And the Severians. Also the sect of Seuerianys, whiche helden as vnleful for to drinke wijn, and helden not with the Oold Testament, neither that the general resurreccioun schulde come.[3]

And the Tatianites. Also the sect of Tacianys, which helden that fleisch schulde not be ete.[4]

And the Cataphrygians or Montanists. Also the sect of Cathafrigis, whiche helden that the Holi Goost came not into the Apostlis, but into hem that weren of the Cathafrigis oonli.[5]

And the Cathari. Also the sect of Cathartitis, whiche helden to be vnleeful that eny widowe be weddid, and that, aftir a man hath synned in eny greet synne, he schal neuer haue ther of forȝeuenes, how euer greet repentaunce and amendis he do.[6]

And the Paulianí. Also the sect of Paulianys, which helden that Crist was not bifore Marie, but took his bigynnyng of Marie.[7]

And the Anthropomorphites. Also the sect of Antropomorfitis, whiche helden that God in his godhede hath hondis and feet and othere suche membris.[8]

And the Hieracitæ. Also the sect of Eraclisis, whiche helden that alle men ouȝten lyue chast, and that wedlok is vnleeful, and that children diyng bifore her ȝeeris of discrecioun schulen not come to heuen.[9]

---

[1] Aug. l.c. c. 40.
[2] Aug. l.c. c. 21 and c. 22.
[3] Aug. l.c. c. 24.
[4] Aug. l.c. c. 25.
[5] Aug. l.c. c. 26.
[6] Aug. l.c. c. 37.
[7] Aug. l.c. c. 44.
[8] Aug. l.c. c. 50.
[9] Aug. l.c. c. 47.

Also the sect of Nouacianys, whiche helden that if eny man falle oonys fro the feith, that he schal neuere haue ther of forȝeunes, and that a man oonys baptisid hath nede in sum caas for to be aȝen baptisid.[1] CHAP. III. And the Novatians.

Also the sect of Ebionytis, which helden Crist to be a pure man oonli, and these helden the riȝtis and obseruauncis[2] of the Iewis rennyngli with lawe of kinde and with the feith of the Gospel.[3] And the Ebionites.

Also the sect of Fotyanys,[4] which helden that Crist was conceyued and bigete bitwixe Ioseph and Marie bi fleischli deede.[5] And the Photinians.

Also the sect of Acyanys and of Ennomynyanys, which helden that al the while a man holdith him silf in the feith he is not dampnable for eny other synne which he doith, thouȝ he schal be therfore punyschid for awhile.[6] And the Aetians and Eunomians.

Also the sect of Sabellianys, which helden that of the Fadir, Sone, and Holi Goost is not but oon persoon.[7] And the Sabellians.

Also the sect of Arrianys, which helden that the Fadir and Sone ben not oon substaunce.[8] And the Arians.

Also the sect of Macedonyanys, whiche helden that the Holi Goost was not God.[9] And the Macedonians.

Also the sect of Appollynaristis, which helden that Crist in his incarnacioun took a bodi but not a soul.[10] And the Apollinarians.

Also the sect of Antymaritis, whiche helden that Marie was fleischli knowen of Ioseph aftir that Crist was of hir born.[11] And the Antidicomaritæ.

---

[1] Aug. l.c. c. 38. Isid. Hisp. *Orig.* lib. viii. c. 5.
[2] *ob'seaūcis*, MS.
[3] Aug. l.c. c. 10.
[4] *Fontianys*, MS. (first hand).
[5] Aug. l.c. c. 44 and c. 45. Isid. Hisp. l.c.
[6] Aug. l.c. c. 54.
[7] Aug. l.c. c. 41.
[8] Aug. l.c. c. 49.
[9] Aug. l.c. c. 52.
[10] Aug. l.c. c. 55.
[11] Aug. l.c. c. 56.

CHAP. III.

And the Donatists.

Also the sect of Donatistis, whiche helden that the Sone is lasse than the Fader, and the Holi Goost lasse than the Sone, and that a man baptiside of an heretik hath nede to be baptisid aȝen.[1]

And the Bonosianians.

Also the sect of Bonosianys,[2] whiche helden that Crist is not the propre Sone of God, but his Sone bi choise or purchase.[3]

And the Jovinianists.

Also the sect of Iouyanystis, whiche helden that forto lyue in maidenhode and forto lyue in wedlok in bigeting children ben of oon meryt, and that forto ete and for to faste ben of oon merit afore God.[4]

And the Helvidians.

Also the sect of Elvidianys, whiche helden that Marie conceyued and bare sones and douȝtris after that sche conceyued and bare Crist.[5]

And the Paternians.

Also the sect of Paternyanys, which helden that the louȝer parties of a mannys bodi weren maad of the feend.[6]

And the Arabians.

Also the sect of Arrabianys, whiche helden that a mannys soul dieth with the bodi and schal rise aȝen with the bodi in the laste dai.[7]

And the Pelagians.

Also the sect of Pelagianys, whiche helden that a man bi his fre wil mai deserue heuen withoute grace.[8]

And the Nestorians.

Also the sect of Nestorianys, whiche helden that Marie was not the modir of God but modir of a man oonli, to which man aftir he was born of Marie God couplid him silf; as ther weren in him ij. naturis, oon of God, and an other of man.[9]

And the Eutychians.

Also the sect of Euticianys, whiche helden that in Crist aftir his incarnacioun weren not ij. kindis or naturis, but oon nature; for that the manhode passid bi turnyng into the Godhede.[10]

---

[1] Aug. l.c. c. 69.
[2] *Boitosianys*, MS.
[3] Isid. Hispal. l.c.
[4] Aug. l.c. c. 82.
[5] Aug. l.c. c. 84.
[6] Aug. l.c. c. 85.
[7] Aug. l.c. c. 83.
[8] Aug. l.c. c. 87.
[9] Isid. Hisp. l.c.
[10] Isid. Hisp. l.c.

Also the sect of Tritoycis, whiche helden that as thre persoones ben in Trynyte, so thre Goddis ben in Trinite.[1] CHAP. III. And the Tritheitæ.

Also the sect of Waldensis.[2] . . . And the Waldenses.

. . . . . .

Also the sect of Wiclifistis,[3] whiche aȝens the vij. principal gouernauncis touchid and rehercid bi the proces of this present book holden in the maners rehercid in this present book, and in wors and horribler maner, as it is open in the book of Wiclijf and of othere being of his sect. And the Wicliffites.

Of manye mo heretik sectis than of these here now rehercid a man may here, if he wole rede Ysidor in the viij^e. book of hise *Ethymologies* and Austyn in his book *Of heresies;* but ȝit if a man wole knowe the heresies of hem in lengthe, he muste rede the book which therof made Epiphanius the Greke, and the book which therof made Philaster the Latyn writer. Neuertheles bi this rehercel here now maad of heretik sectis[4] it is open ynouȝ that alle tho men, whiche weenen that the[5] wordis of Peter, ij^e. Petri ij^e. c̃. and the wordis of Poul, i^e. Thim. iiij^e. c̃. and ij^e. Thim. iij^e. c̃., and the other textis bifore in the [firste][6] chapiter [of the fifthe parti][6] of this book alleggid, musten nedis be seid and be verified of the religiouns now being in the chirche, ben foule bigilid. Information on various other heretical sects may be found in the works of Augustine and Isidorus Hispalensis, and more fully in those of Epiphanius and Philaster. But enough has been said here to show how mistaken those are, who imagine that the words of the Apostles must necessarily apply to the religious orders.

---

[1] Isid. Hisp. l.c.

[2] Nearly nine lines, *i.e.*, space for about fifty words, are left blank in the MS.

[3] *Wiclififtis*, MS.

[4] The references to Augustine's work are given under the respective sects, reference to that of Isidore being only added, when he relates something named by Pecock which is not found in Augustine. All the information given in the text is to be found in these two works, and Pecock probably knew no more of Epiphanius (and perhaps of Philaster also) than what he saw quoted by Augustine. These latter authors, therefore, are not referred to in the notes.

[5] *tho*, MS.

[6] Spaces left in the MS. for the numbers.

CHAP. III. Out of which bigiling God for his merci graunte, that thei rise sumwhat the sooner bi enformacioun which thei mowen take bi rehercel now mad of heretik sectis; that thei rise out fro her indignacioun born anentis religiouns now had in the chirche, and fro al the bacbiting which thei maken aȝens the same religiouns.

iiij. CHAPITER.

THE SECOND CONCLUSION IN FAVOUR OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS. Reason does not forbid them. Certain arguments against them derived from reason considered and refuted.

THE ij^e. principal conclusioun biholding the vj^e. principal gouernaunce is this: Doom of clerili in kinde disposid resoun lettith not and weerneth not the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce. That this conclusioun is trewe y proue thus: If eny doom of such resoun schulde lette and weerne the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce, it schulde be oon of these doomes which ben conteyned in the iiij. semyng skilis now next to be maad and fourmed; but so it is, that noon of tho doomes lettith and weerneth the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce. Wherfore no doom of such seid resoun lettith and weerneth the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce.

The first argument of the Lollards. Religious orders prohibit the religious from giving alms and relieving the necessities of their parents, both of which are divine commands.

The firste of these iiij. now spokun semyng skilis is this: Ech religioun is vnleeful and not worthi be had and vsid, which lettith and afore barrith, ȝhe, and weerneth the comaundement of God in his lawe of kinde to be doon; but so it is, that ech of the bifore spoken religions now had and vsid in the chirche and conteyning vow of wilful expropriat pouerte and obedience to certein reulis and statutis lettith and afore barrith, ȝhe, and weerneth hise religiose persoon for to do and fulfille sum comaundement of God. Forwhi ech of tho religiouns lettith and forbarrith and weerneth hise persones for to do bodili almes deedis to the pore and nedi, and also forto worschipe his fadir and modir in the effect of

releeuyng her bodili and goostli neede and lak, as it is open to ech attender. And ȝit God biddith bodili almes deedis to be doon, as it is writun [Luk xj^{e}.][1] c̃. thus, *That that is ouer plus ȝeue ȝe almes;* and also Math. xxv^{e}. c̃. it is open that for vndoing or for the leuyng of such bodili almes vndoon men schulen be dampned. Wherfore forto do such almes is the comaundement of God. And also that ech man thus worschipe his fadir and modir is the comaundement of God, it is open, Mark [vij^{e}.][1] c̃. and Effes. [vj^{e}.][1] c̃. Wherfore alle suche now spokun religiouns ben vnleeful, and not worthi to be had and vsid. CHAP. IV.

The ij^{e}. semyng skile is this: Thilk thing or gouernaunce, not being necessarie into oure saluacioun for that it is the comaundement of God, what euer he be, is to be kutt awey and to be leid aside and to be not had and vsid, of which myche goostli harme and synne comen, for that that he is the occasioun that thilk goostli harme and synne comen. Forwhi into the meenyng of this now rehercid proposicioun or sentence the Gospel is alleggid bifore in the [v^{e}.][1] chapiter of the iij^{e}.[2] parti of this book thus: *If thi riȝt iȝe or thi riȝt hond or thi riȝt foot sclaundre thee, pulle him out or kutte him awey, and caste him fro thee;* but so it is, that of ech of the now spokun religiouns had and vsid in the chirche miche goostli harme and synne comen; so that ech of them is the occasioun wherbi and wherfro the goostli harme and synne comen. Wherfore folewith that ech of the now spokun religiouns ouȝte be pullid out of the chirche, and ouȝte be kutt awey, and be not had and vsid. Their second argument. The religious orders are the cause of much sin and evil, and consequently ought to be abolished.

The iij^{e}. semyng skile is this: If suche now spokun religiouns ben so gode and so profitable to Cristen men as is now bifore pretendid hem to be, whi or- The third argument. Christ would have appointed religious orders, if

[1] Spaces left in the MS. for the references.

[2] *this v^{e}.*, MS. See p. 307.

CHAP. IV.

they had been profitable.

deyned not Crist tho same religiouns to be had and vsid; sithen he couthe haue ordeyned tho religiouns as weel as men couthen fynde hem and devise hem, and sithen he loueth us and wilneth oure goostli profit more than we silf willen, forwhi for oure goostli profit he soore laborid, suffrid, and died? Wher upon it myȝte be argued in forme thus: Crist, which was oure grettist louer and oure best prower, ordeyned al that was best for us to haue and al that is notabili bettir to be had than to not be had; for ellis he hadde not be anentis us to gidere wijsist purueier and tendirist louer: but so it is, that Crist not ordeyned these spokun religiouns, forwhi it is bifore grantid in the [i^{e}.][1] chapiter of the [v^{e}.][1] parti and it is openli trewe that men founde hem and devisid hem, and that now late summe and manye of hem: wherfore thei ben not necessarie, neither thei ben in notable degre bettir to be had or to be not had.

Their fourth argument. The great variety of the religious orders breeds debate and discord.

The iiij^{e}. semyng skile is this: If for to haue religioun and religiosite set to the comoun lawe of God maad of lawe of kinde and of sacramentis is leeful, good, and profitable, whi mai not this good and profit sufficientli be performed and fillid bi oon or ij. or a fewe of suche religions had and vsid[2] in the chirche? Skile ther aȝens semeth to be noon, namelich sithen alle tho religiouns had and vsid in the chirche accorden and ben as oon in the thre substancial thingis of hem alle, that is to seie in the iij. vowis whiche alle suche religioses maken. Wher fore this that ther ben now in the chirche so manye foold dyuerse religiouns and religiosis, (of whiche summe eten fleisch, whanne othere religiosis eten fisch; summe waken, whanne othere slepen; summe weren whijt, summe

[1] Spaces left in the MS. for the references. See p. 483.

[2] *had and vsid* is added by a later hand.

weren blak, summe weren whijt aboue and blak binethe, and summe in the contrarie maner weren blak aboue and whijt binethe; summe weren lynnen next to her skyn, and summe forberen al lynnen fro her skyn of the bodi) is not but of vnconstaunce and of vnstabilnes, of liȝtnes and vnavisidnes, and of scisme making in the oonhede of Cristen britheren; and is modir cause and occasioun of debatis and of lasse loue to be had among alle Cristen britheren to gidere, and so forth of othere yuelis.

v. CHAPITER.

THE FIRST ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. These religions do not forbid any deed so far as it is a command of God to any person, but only so far as it is not a command.

FOR answere to the firste semyng skile, the ij^e^. premysse of the argument there maad is to be denied, which ij^e^. premysse is this: That ech religioun now had in which is vow of expropriacioun lettith, forbarrith, and weerneth sum comaundement of God to be doon. And whanne ferther into the[1] proof ther of it is argued thus: Ech such religioun lettith and weerneth hise persoones forto do bodili almes of ricchessis deling, and also lettith and weerneth hise persoones forto releue her fadir and modir being in pouerte, and ȝit these deedis ben comaundementis of God; it is to be answerid here, that noon of these religiouns lettith tho deedis to be doon bi eny of hise persoones, as tho deedis and whanne tho deedis ben comaundementis of God to the same persoon, but as and whanne tho deedis ben noon comaundementis of God to the same persoon: and therfore noon of tho religiouns lettith hise persoones forto do eny comaundement of God.

God's commandments are of two kinds, negative

For ferther cleering and declaring of this maad answere it is to wite, that ther ben ij. maners of Goddis

[1] *the* is interlineated in a later hand.

CHAP. V.

and positive. The former are always binding, not so the latter. If any one justly lacks the means to fulfil them, or may reasonably make himself lack the means, he is released from the obligation to fulfil them. Application of these remarks to the case of the religious orders.

comaundementis. Forwhi summe comaundementis of God ben negatyues, that is to seie, weernyngis or forbodis, as ben these: *Thou schalt not do avoutrie; Thou schalt not bere fals witnes; Vnworschipe thou not thi fadir and modir,* and suche othere; and these bynden to alwey, and to whom euere eny of these comaundementis is oonys a comaundement, to him thilk same comaundement is euermore perpetueli a comaundement. Summe othere comaundementis ben affirmatyue comaundementis, that is to seie, biddingis that certein deedis be doon, as ben these: *Worschipe and releeue thi fadir and modir; ȝeue thou almes to the poor; Teche thou the vnkunnyng,* and suche othere: and these comaundementis binden not to[1] alwey, and to whom these ben comaundementis for oon while, thei mowen ceese to be comaundementis, as for an other while. Forwhi sithen affirmatyue or bidding comandementis ben comaundementis that certein deedis be doon, and if tho deedis mowen not be doon with oute certein to hem required meenes, it muste needis folewe that if and whanne a man iustli lackith the meenes, bi whiche needis tho deedis schulden be doon, he is not bounde forto do thilke deedis; and if euer and whanne euer a man may resonabili and therfore lawfulli make him silf lacke the meenys, bi whiche tho deedis musten needis be doon, if thei schulden be doon, that thanne he may make him be not bounde to tho deedis, and may make that tho deedis be not to him comaundementis of God, thouȝ bifore whanne he hadde or myȝte haue the meenis of tho deedis, tho deedis weren to him comaundid deedis. And therfore folewith needis, that whanne euer a man iustli and withoute blame of resoun lackith the ricchessis, with whiche he myȝte visite

[1] *to* is interlineated in a later hand.

the faderles and modirles children and poor widowis and do other bodili almes, thanne as for thanne and as for al thilk while it is not comaundement of God to him forto do such now seid almes, neither forto releeue the pouerte of his fadir and modir; and bi lijk skile it muste needis folewe, that if euer and whanne euer a man may not a3ens resoun (but bi doom of cleer resoun) make him silf lacke suche ricchessis, 3he, and make him silf lack the power forto wynne or other wise come to iustli suche ricchessis, thanne and as for al thilk while it is not comaundement[1] of God to him neither forto releeue the pouerte of his fadir and moder or of eny other nei3bour, neither it is comaundement of God to him forto labore that he wynne bi craft or in eny other wise to gete ricches forto therbi releeue the pouerte and nede of his fadir and modir or of eny other nei3bour to him.

Proof that a man may lawfully make himself lack the riches, wherewith he should supply the need of his parents and neighbours. He might spend all his goods lawfully on physicians, if he could not otherwise be cured of a grievous sickness of body: and therefore *à fortiori* he may spend them, if he cannot otherwise be cured of a grievous sickness of soul, and he joins a religious order and becomes bound to poverty for this end and intent, and he is not bound to love any one more

And that a man now hauyng ricchessis in greet plente mai with his good wil iustli and leefulli make him silf lacke tho same ricchessis, 3he, and the power forto wynne, gete, or haue ther aftir eny suche ricchessis, y proue in this wise: I putte caas here, were a man which hath myche ricches, wherwith he mai weel releeue the pouerte of his fadir and modir and of hise othere nei3boris, if thei in eny pouerte now weren; and this man hath a bodili sijknes, (or ellis dredith for greet liklihode forto falle into a bodili sijknes,) bi which he schal lyue in huge vnberable peine or be deed; ther is a lecche which wole vndirtake to make him hool, or to preserue him fro the fal into thilk sijknes; but al the ricches of this seid man is litil ynou3 forto spende aboute the medicyns longing to thilk cure or preseruacioun. This man

[1] *a comaundement*, MS. (first hand, apparently).

CHAP. V.

than himself or than his own soul's salvation.

seing this spendith out al his seid worldli ricches into the now seid purpos, and makith him silf wilfulli to lacke the meenys bi whiche he myȝte releeue the pouerte of his fadir and modir, into which thei ben falle aftir this expense. Thanne y aske heere this questioun: Whether this man in so expending dooth aȝens the comaundement of God, bi which God biddith that a man releeue the pouerte and nede of his fadir and modir, and releeue the neede of hise othere neiȝboris? Certis ech resonable man this heering wole seie nay; ȝhe, and thouȝ eer than he hadde bigunne to make this expense he hadde seen his fader and modir falle into greet pouerte and bodili neede, ȝit he hadde not do amys forto bigynne and contynue his now seid expense, and forto leue his fadir and modir and othere neiȝboris in her pouerte and bodili nede. And thouȝ ouer al this seid expense it were so, that the leche wolde not do and make this seid cure, but if this man wolde bicome his perpetual seruaunt or boond man, and folewe him into a fer cuntre, and serue him for mete and drinke and clooth oonli; ȝit this man schulde not do amys forto so make him silf lacke power into wynnyng eft soone of worldli good in bycomyng[1] boond to this leche for the seid effect and purpos, bisidis the expense of alle hise ricchessis now of him possessid and had, as it is open ynouȝ to resoun. But whi and for what cause is this trewe? Sotheli for thouȝ this man be bounde forto loue his fader and moder and hise othere neiȝboris as him silf, ȝit he is not bounde for to loue eny of hem more than him silf, neither so myche as him silf; but this man is bounde bi the dew ordre of charite which doom of resoun ȝeueth, and so bi the lawe of God forto loue him silf more than his fadir

[1] *by comyng*, MS.

and modir and hise othere neiȝboris, as it is schewid in othere placis of my writingis; so that this man ouȝte loue in affect and in effect his owne bodi more than the bodi of his fadir or modir or of eny other neiȝbore, and his owne soule more than the soule or the bodi of his fadir or modir or of eny other to him neiȝbour, and his owne bodili lijf more than the bodili lijf of his fadir and modir. Certis if this be the cause, as no kunnyng man mai denye it to be the very and trewe therof cause, thanne ther of folewith this: that miche rather, if eny man is ful sijk in synne or dreedful with ful likeli opinioun that he schal falle ful periloseli into synne and contynue so, that he dredith lest he schal not make a sure eende into his saluacioun; and it is seen in resoun that forto be curid or preserued herof best wey and surist wey and noon other sure to his freelnes wey is, than to forsake alle hise temporal ricchessis and bicome a religiose man in sum religioun conteynyng vow of wilful pouerte, bi which vow he not oonli muste leue hise now had ricchessis and power forto[1] aftirward of the newe wynne and come to eny suche ricchessis; if he so do, ȝhe, thouȝ for the while he seeth his fadir and modir and hise neiȝboris falle or be in grettist bodili pouerte and nede, he doith not ther yn amys, neithir doith aȝens the comaundement of God. Forwhi he not therbi dooth aȝens the loue, bi whiche he ouȝte loue his fadir and modir and hise othere neiȝboris as him silf; but he executith the comaundement of God, bi which he is bounde to loue him silf more than his fader and modir and hise othere neiȝboris, namelich his owne soule and his goostli helthe more than the goostli welthe and the bodili welthe of his fader and modir and of hise othere neiȝboris: and therfore he

CHAP. V.

[1] *to* is interlineated in a later hand.

CHAP. V.

dooth not ther ynne amys, neither brekith therbi eny comaundement of God, but he ther yn and ther bi fulfillith the now seid comaundement of God.

Full explanation of the lawfulness of this conduct. The command to honour our parents is in fact a part of the more general command to love our neighbour as ourselves: but this latter command does not oblige any one to love another so much as himself, or to love all men equally.

And thouȝ y schulde seie no more than this now seid, certis it were ynouȝ for answere to the first semyng skile. Neuertheles thus myche more y schal therto sette: The comoun peple and perauenture summe of the clerkis ben her yn bigilid, that thei weenen this comaundement of God, *Honoure thou thi fadir and modir*, to be a seueral comaundement bi him silf departid fro this comaundement of God, *Loue thou thi neiȝbore as thi silf*, and to be a streitir comaundement and more to be kept than is this comaundement, *Loue thou thi neiȝbore as thi silf;* but certis this is not trewe. Forwhi therof wolde folewe that a mannys fadir and modir be not to him hise neiȝboris; and it is fals: for thei ben to him summe of hise principalist neiȝboris. Also it wolde therof folewe that the deedis of reuerencing and the deedis of releeuying, which a man dooth to his fadir and modir, weren not deedis of loue; which also is vntrewe. And therfore, sithen a mannys fader and modir ben to him nedis hise neiȝboris, and not more to him than neiȝboris, thouȝ thei ben hise principal neiȝboris, and the reuerencing and the releeuying, (whethir thei ben goostli or bodili,) ben deedis of loue, and ben noon better neither more than deedis of loue, it folewith needis that in this comaundement, *Worschipe thou* (in affect and effect bi reuerencing and releving)[1] *thi fadir and modir*, whanne and as and if resoun deemeth it to be doon, is no thing comaundid streiter than is comaundid and conteyned in this comaundement, *Loue thou* (in affect and effect) *ech of thi neiȝboris as thi silf.*

---

[1] *and bi releving* is added in the margin by a later hand; *bi* having been afterwards erased.

But bi cause that thouȝ a man ouȝte loue in affect and effect ech of hise neiȝboris as him silf, ȝit he ouȝte not loue ech of hise neiȝboris lijk myche neither eny of hise neiȝboris so miche as him silf; but summe of hise neiȝboris, as ben Cristen men, he ouȝte loue in affect and effect more than Iewis or Sarazenys, whiche ben to us neiȝboris al the while thei ben in state in which thei mowen be conuertid and be saued; and summe of Cristen neiȝboris, as ben grete to him benefetouris, he ouȝte loue in affect and effect more than othere Cristene being not so grete to him benefetouris; and also hem, whiche ben trewe seruauntis to God and ben of him more loued, he ouȝte more loue in affect and effect than othere not being so gode seruauntis to God and not so myche of him loued. And if her with alle tho greete benefetouris or tho bettir seruauntis to God ben neer and more of his blood than ben othere, bi so myche also thei ouȝte be the more of him loued in affect and effect. And for as miche as comounli it is so, that a mannys fader and modir ben to him grettist benefetouris, or namelich ben in grettist wil forto be benefetouris to him, and comounly noon other persoon ferther in blood is woned be so willi and so redy forto do and suffre for a man as ben his or weren bifore to him his fadir or modir, therfore that we be not vnkinde anentis hem whom we, as it comounli fallith, ben bounde forto moost loue of alle oure neiȝboris, God in wey of notifiyng and in wey of remembring to be waar of the gretter defaut bifore the lasse expressid to us in wordis thus, *Worschipe thou thi fadir and thi modir.* And ȝit her of and herfro folewith not, neither may eny[1] colour be had, that God comaundith a man to bere him anentis his fadir and modir more and other

CHAP. V.

[1] *in eny*, MS. (first hand), perhaps rightly.

CHAP. V

wise than the hiȝest degre of neiȝborehode askith, or that he schulde do eny gretter thing than is conteyned and includid in this general comaundement, *Loue thou thi neiȝbore as thi silf.* For this comaundement, *Worschipe thou thi fadir and modir,* is not but a special and a parti of this general and hool comaundement, *Loue* (in affect and effect) *thi neiȝbore as thi silf,* but as moche as resoun wole. And certis the vnconsideracion [and] the vnkunnyng of this now declarid notabilite and the opinioun that this comaundement spokun bi Goddis owne mouth, *Worschipe thou thi fadir and modir,* was off grettir charge than is now declarid, and was in streiter wise to be vnderstonde than is now declarid, hath be a cause in summe of the comoun peple forto ouer vnwijsly and ouer bitterli berke and clatere,[1] bacbite and diffame aȝens the bifore seid religions. Wolde God that thei wolden now take heede to this present book, and souke out therof goostli triacle aȝens her goostli poysenyng and enfecting.

vj. CHAPITER.

THE SECOND ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. Although it has been in fact answered already, yet it may here be added that an institution only then need to be abolished, when evil springs from it as a cause and not merely as an

FOR answere to the ij^{e}. semyng skile may serue sufficientli al what is bifore seid and writun in the [iv^{e}. parti the iij^{e}. chapiter][2] in iustifiyng the iiij^{e}.[3] principal gouernaunce; and that fro thilk place which biginneth thus, *If eny wole pretende that riȝt doom of resoun, et cætera,* into the eende of the same chapiter there.[4] Neuertheles sumwhat more y schal sette therto here, namelich for this, that the Gospel [Math.

[1] *chatere,* MS. (first hand).

[2] A space left in the MS. for the references.

[3] *ij^{e}.*, MS.

[4] See p. 432. This seems to be the place referred to.

CHAP. VI.

occasion. When scandal arises from a thing as from a cause, the offence is always given as well as taken: but not so when it springs from a thing, as from an occasion only. This latter case is the case of the religious orders, and so Christ's command to cut off scandals does not apply to them.

v^e. c̃.][1] is brouȝte in forto enforce this secunde semyng skile. And therfore y seie therto thus: In twey maners out of a gouernaunce mai come yuel as it is seid before in the [iij^e.][1] chapiter of the [iv^e.][1] parti of this book, that is to seie, in oon maner as fro the cause of the yuel, and in an other maner as fro an occasioun of the yuel oonli.[2] Certis whanne euer synne cometh fro and bi eny gouernaunce in the first maner, thanne thilk gouernaunce is vnleeful and to be cast awey; and of [a] gouernaunce out, fro, and bi which cometh synne in to a persoon in this firste maner meened Crist in the place of the Gospel now alleggid [Math. v^e. c̃.];[1] and not of a gouernaunce out, fro, and bi which cometh synne to a persoon in the ij^e. maner oonli. Ferthermore, whanne euer the sclaundre (that is to seie, the synne,) cometh into a persoon out, fro, and bi a gouernaunce in the firste maner, it is alwey trewe that to the persoon sclaundrid (that is to seie, prouokid and putt into synne) the sclaundre (that is to seie, the synne) is ȝouun, and is not oonli of him and bi his side acceptid and takun withoute ȝeuyng. And whanne euer out, fro, and bi eny gouernaunce sclaundre (that is to seie, synne) cometh in the ij^e. maner, than it is trewe that the sclandre (that is to seie, the synne) is not ȝouun to the persoon, but it is of him takun and acceptid withoute therof to him maad eny ȝeuyng. And sithen it is so, that al the greet and notable synne, that cometh fro, out, and bi religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche, cometh fro hem into the persoones of hem in the secunde now seid maner oonli and not in the firste, therfore the sentence of the Gospel of [Math. v^e. c̃.][1] alleggid bifore in the argument fallith not vpon these religiouns, that thei for such sclaundring of persoones be

[1] Spaces left in the MS. for the references.

[2] See pp. 428–433.

CHAP. VI.

kutt awey. Forwhi the sclaundris of tho persoones ben sclaundris acceptid and takun into hem bi hem silf and her owne freelnes, and ben not ȝouun to hem bi tho religiouns.

Yet when sin comes into a man by occasion of any ordinance not commanded of God, and that frequently, he must consider whether it is easiest and best for him to forego the ordinance altogether or to conquer his frailty and to retain it. Although the ordinance itself be lawful, yet different persons must act in different manners with respect to observing or not observing it.

Neuertheles, thouȝ this be trewe what is now bifore seid, that whanne sclaundre (that is to seie, synne) cometh into a persoon bi a gouernance aftir the ij^e. maner oonli, thilk gouernaunce hath no wijt or deseruyng or riȝt forto be leid awey, but the freelnes of the persoon ouȝte bi riȝt be fouȝt aȝens and be leid awey, ȝit in this maner wolde be had this special consideracioun and therupon folewingli this now to be ȝouun tempering moderacioun. Whanne synne cometh into a persoon bi a gouernaunce and in the ij^e. maner oonli, and this person so ofte fallith into thilk synne, whanne he holdith thilk gouernaunce, that the synne is as it were vnscapeable and vnavoidable of him; and herwith it is so, that the same gouernaunce is not to him comaundid of God and bi his lawe, and therfore is not necessarie for his saluacioun, certis thanne it is to be aspied weel bothe bi resoun and bi sure assay and experience, whether it be esier and surer and lasse peyne and bateil for to fiȝte aȝens his freelnes and hise lustis and ouercome it with the holding of the seid gouernaunce, or ellis aȝenward it is esier, surer, and lasse peyne and lasse bateil forto forgo[1] at al and lacke the seid gouernaunce, than for to fiȝte and ouercome the lustis of his freelnes. If it be sureli founde bi cleer sure resoun or bi sufficient assay that the persoon is disposid in the first of these ij. now seid disposiciouns, it is not good reule that he caste awey fro him the seid gouernaunce, namelich if thilk gouernaunce be myche profitable to him in othere goostli sidis and stondith to him in miche

[1] *for go*, MS.

goostli stide; but the good reule were for to caste awey the lustis and othere passiouns of his freelnes, and lete the gouernauncis be had. And ȝenward, if it be sureli founde bi cleer and sure resoun or bi sufficient assay of experience, that the persoon is disposid in the ij^e. now seid disposicioun, sotheli thanne, thouȝ this gouernaunce deserueth not bi his wijt to be kut awey, ȝit alloweable reule it were forto kutte awey thilk seide gouernaunce, thouȝ he be ful profitable in goostli maner in othere sides into good not being of comaundement, and so that bi the kuttyng awey of thilk gouernaunce cometh not in the ij^e. maner more synne to the persoon than cometh in [the] ij^e. maner bi the holding of the same gouernaunce, and ellis not. Forwhi a litil synne is more to be eschewid[1] and to be fled, than is a ful greet goostli good, which is not of Goddis comaundement, to be pursewid and folewid that it be had; and the gretter synne is euer more[2] to be fled and eschewid than the lasse synne.

And thus myche her of as now; for more of sclaundris is tauȝt in *The book of Cristen religion* the [3] party the [3] trety the [3] chapiter.

More is written on scandals in Pecock's *Christian religion.*

For to turne now ȝen into the mater of religiouns; thouȝ it be sufficientli now bifore answerid to the ij^e. semyng skile mad ȝens tho religiouns, ȝit into gretter[4] strengthing and enforcing of the same mad answere and into the more clering of this treuthe, that the seid religiouns ben not to be kutte awey fro the chirche, y sette thus miche more here at this tyme: Thouȝ it were so, that no more excuse were to the seid religiouns forto defende hem fro kutting awey than which is bifore seid; (that out, fro, and bi

Furthermore the institution of religious orders has hindered much more sin than it has occasioned, and so much more deserves to be retained than abolished. During thirty years and more multitudes of men have been monks and friars, who would otherwise have been engaged in bloody wars with

[1] *eschewewid*, MS.

[2] *euermore*, MS.

[3] Spaces are left in the MS. for the references.

[4] *the gretter*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VI.

France or in sinful occupations at home, and so would have committed more sin than they now have committed.

hem no synne cometh in the first seid maner, but in the ij^e. seid maner oonli; and therfore thei deseruen not to be kutt awey, namelich sithen thei ben meenis into greet goostly goodis:)—ȝit more therto forto excuse mai be sett thus: that gretter synne wolde come fro, bi, and out of the kuttingis awey of tho religiouns than cometh now fro, bi, and out of the hauyngis and holdingis of the same religiouns, and gretter synne is lettid bi the being and holding of tho religiouns than is al the synne bi hem comyng; and therfore thei ouȝten miche rather be menteyned than be leid asyde. That this is trewe, what is now seid, y proue thus:[1] Take me alle the[2] religiose men of Englond, whiche ben now and han ben in religioun in Englond this thritti ȝeeris and mo now eendid, in whiche xxx^ti. ȝeeris hath be contynuel greet werre bitwixe Englond and Fraunce; and lete se what schulde haue worthe of the men in these ȝeeris, if thei hadden not be mad religiose. Lete se how thei schulden haue lyued, and what maner men thei schulden haue be. Whether not thei schulden haue be, as weelnyȝ alle othere men ben and han be in this xxxiiij^e. wynter in Englond; and therfore thei schulden haue be or gileful artificers, or vnpiteful questmongers and forsworen iurers, or sowdiers wagid into Fraunce forto make miche morther of blood, ȝhe, and of soulis, bothe in her owne side and in the Frensch side? Who can seie nay herto, but that riȝt likeli and as it were vnscapabili these yuelis and many mo schulden haue bifalle to tho persoones, if thei hadden not be religiose? And noman can fynde aȝenward that tho persoones, whilis thei han lyued in religioun, han be gilti of so miche synne, how miche synne is now rehercid; and of which thei schulden haue be gilti, if

[1] *That is trewe what y proue thus.* MS. (first hand).

[2] *alle religiose,* MS. (first hand).

thei hadden not be religiose. Thanne folewith needis, that the religiouns in Englond han be[1] ful noble and ful profitable heggis and wardis thorugh out these xxxiiij. ȝeeris for to close and kepe and hegge yn and werne so manye persoones fro so miche gretter synnes into whiche ellis, if tho religiouns hadden not be, tho persoones schulden haue falle and haue be gilti. And sotheli this skile (as me semeth) ouȝte move ech man ful miche forto holde with suche religiouns, if he be wijs for to considere how synful it is weelnyȝ alle persoons lyuyng out of religioun; and into how comberose a plijt the world is brouȝt, that tho synnes (as it were) mowen not be lefte; and how that religiose persoones schulden be of lijk badde condicioun, if thei weren not in religioun, and that in religioun thei ben not of so badde condicion, thouȝ thei ben men and not aungels and kunnen not lyue without al synne; and that the synne comyng into hem, whilis thei ben in religioun, cometh not into hem bi the religioun as bi the firste maner of comyng bifore tauȝt in the same chapiter, but bi the ij^e. maner of comyng oonli.. And no more as now and here[2] as for answere to the ij^e. semyng skile.

Here myȝte be askid what ouȝte be doon bi religiose prelatis and bi bischopis and the pope to and aboute religiose persoones, whiche in a symplenes camen into religioun and aftirward han growen into greet notabil abilnes forto stonde into miche gretter stide of al the chirche and of al the lawe of God than forto be tied to close and cloistrose obseruauncis of summe maners of religiouns, and what ouȝte be desirid and askid bi tho same religiose persoones to be doon to and aboute hem silf? That is to seie, whether thei schulden stire and pursue forto be lousid of such en-

A question mooted. Ought those who have embraced a monastic life, but have afterwards shown singular powers for active service, to obtain dispensation from their vows, or hold to them for better for worse, as a man must do by his wife, however ill-suited to him she may be? This question shall be discussed in Pecock's *Book of lessons*.

[1] *ben*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *now here*, MS. (first hand), perhaps rightly.

CHAP. VI.

closing and for to be take into the werkis of so greet excellence, (into which thei ben so miche abler than other, or into which ouer fewe or noon ben able;) or ellis, whether thei schulen desire and caste, ȝhe, and be constreyned to abide for better for wors perpetuali in the same bondage, in to which it happid hem in her ȝongthe or in her seid abilte not best knowun and of hem aspied to entre; in lijk maner as it is with men, whiche bi ȝongthe or bi hastynes or bi vnsufficient knowing and assaiyng of certein wommenys maners han take hem into her wyues, muste holde hem to the same wyues for better for wors, how euer myche better lijf thei couthen lyue with othere wommen to be take of the newe into her wyues than with these now takun into her wyues? But al this is not myche perteynyng to this present book, and therfore no thing into assoiling of this dout schal be seid here. Sumwhat therof is seid in *The book of Cristen religioun*, the firste parti, the [1] treti the [1] chapiter; but more and in better wise y hope schal be sett in *The book of lessouns* to be rad perauenture in the chaier of scolis.

vij. CHAPITER.

THE THIRD ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. It would be just as reasonable to ask why Christ did not appoint a lord mayor of London, as why he did not appoint religious orders. God gives men sense to perceive their

ANSWERE to the iij^{e}. semyng skile schal be this: Whanne thou askist of me thus, "Why made not and "ordeyned not Crist tho religions to be had and be "vsid, sithen thei ben so profitable to us?" I aske of thee in lijk wise, "Whi ordeyned not and made "not Crist to us who schal be meyr in London in "the next ȝeer, and who schal be bischop of London "aftir the deceesse of the bischop of Londoun now

[1] Spaces left in the MS. for the references.

CHAP. VII.

needs and power to supply them in both cases, and in many other like cases. Those needs only which men cannot supply God does supply.

" lyuying, sithen it is profitable to men of Londoun " and vnsparable that such a meyr and such a bischop " schulden be in tyme comyng? ȝhe, whi made not " God gownes and cootis, hosun and schoon to men, " breed and potages and ale and beer and wijn, sithen " these thingis ben so necessarie to men that men " mowen not lake hem?" If thou answere to my questioun thus: That God ordeyned, made, and ȝaue to men tho thingis (that is to seie, witt, wille, speche, and othere powers of the soule and of the bodi bi whiche and with which thei hem silf and bi hem silf mowen make, ordeyne, and do to hem silf alle tho thingis, wherof thi questiouns asken; and therfore God wolde not, for it was no nede that he him silf schulde ordeyne, make, do, and ȝeue tho thingis to the same men—certis, if thin answere now mad to my questiouns is good, and such thanne a lijk answere schal be good and sufficient to thi questioun askid in the iij^{e}. semyng skile: That therfore Crist not ordeined, made, dide, and ȝaf bi him silf thes seid religiouns, for he ȝaue to men inward sensityue wittis and outward sensityue wittis, resoun, and wil, and moving power to speke, and othere deedis do, by whiche men myȝten knowe suche religiouns be worthi be had and vsid, and with whiche men myȝten make and ordeyne and do bi hem silf suche religiouns to hem siif, as that it was not nede to Crist that he him silf schulde make, do, ordeyne, and ȝeue hem to men. So that it is the maner of Crist, that tho thingis and deedis, whiche men hem silf bi ȝiftis of God bifore ȝouun to hem mowen[1] kunne, make, and do hem silf, God wole loke that thei so do, ordeyne, and make, if thei tho thingis wolen haue; and ellis tho powers whiche God hath ȝouun to men, bi whiche powers men mowen[1] make

[1] *mowe*, MS. (first hand) apparently, twice.

CHAP. VII.

tho thingis and do and ordeyne tho deedis, schulden be as in parti idil, vnoccupied, and vein. And ȝenward tho thingis and deedis, whiche men hem silf bi ȝiftis of God bifore ȝouun to hem mowen[1] not kunne, make, do, and ordeyne hem silf, God wole do, make, and ordeyne bi him silf to hem, if thei be necessarie and vnlackeable to hem, as ben the soulis of oure children to vs and othere suche thingis. And thus miche is ynouȝ for answere to the questioun askid in thi iij[e]. semyng skile and to the argument there maad in forme; forwhi the firste premysse of the argument is to be denyed; and whi he is to be denyed, it is open bi this processe in this answere now maad.

And even as it might be said that one, who equipped another with arms and inspired him with strength, *gave* him any prisoner he might take in war; so God, having given to men sense to see the use of religious orders and power to ordain them, may be called the *giver* of these orders to mankind.

And ȝit, (if y schulde ferther seie,) y woot riȝt weel, that if thou ȝauest to thi man hors and sadil, armour and spere, and schuldist bidde him ride into a certeyn feelde, and take to him a prisoner worthi in raunsum of an hundrid pound; and if her with thou myȝtist and schuldist like verili ȝeue to him his boldenes, his strengthe, his inward and outward wittis, and his resoun and wil forto reule him in the taking of this prisoner, thou woldist seie that thou ȝauest to him this prisoner; for this that thou ȝauest to him alle the meenys bi which and with whiche he schulde take this prisoner, not withstonding that he him silf withoute thee takith this prisoner bi and with the meenys and helpis whiche bi caas thou hast ȝouun to him: — wherfore, sithen God ȝeueth to men inward and outward sensytyue wittis and resoun and wil and moving power to make speking and othere bodili movingis and alle othere meenys, wherbi and wherwith men mowen bi hem silf sufficientli knowe that suche religiouns ben profitable to hem, and make and ordeyne religiouns now had

[1] *mowe*, MS. (first hand) apparently.

and vsid in the chirche, thou ouȝtist graunte for lijk skile that God ȝeueth to men tho religiouns. And so it is, thouȝ his ȝifte theryn be doon mediatli, that is to seie, bi meenes therto bifore ȝouun.

God does deeds partly mediately partly immediately.

In ij. therfore maners God dooth dedis[1] in erthe. Oon is of immediat doing, and that is whanne he bi him silf at next withoute meene or his assignee dooth the deede, and thus it is doon whanne he dooth eny myracle aboue the power of creature. An other maner is of mediat doing, and that is whanne he not bi him silf oonli, but bi his assignees dooth it, as bi an aungel or bi the sunne or the moone or sum othir creature; and this dede is doon of God mediatli or with meene; and in this maner he ȝeueth to man the ricches which he wynneth bi bisynes of his witt and bi labour of his bodi; and in this maner it is trewe that God made, ordeyned, and ȝaue the religiouns whiche now ben had and vsid in the chirche.

THE FOURTH ARGUMENT OF THE LOLLARDS ANSWERED. The diversities of the religious orders attract more to join religious orders than would otherwise embrace them. Different rules please different persons; just as one inn suits some persons better than another. And since religious orders have been proved to be beneficial, these diversities are also beneficial.

Answere to the iiij[e]. semyng skile schal be this: Whanne thou askist of me, "Whi ben ther so manye "dyuerse religiouns in the chirche, and whi not bi "fewer religiouns mai be performed al the good which "cometh forth bi so manye religiouns had and vsid "in the chirche?" I aske of thee, "Whi in a town "which is a thoruȝ faar toward Londoun ben so "manye ostries clepid innes forto logge gistis, thouȝ "in fewer of hem alle gestis myȝten be loggid? Is "not this the cause, for that bi the mo dyuersitees "whiche schulen be had in the more multitude of "ynnes the peple schal be the more prouokid and "stirid for to logge hem in tho ynnes, than if ther "were fewer ynnes?" Thou muste nedis seie, ȝhis. Forwhi what point in chaumbring, stabiling, gardeins, beddis, seruicis of the ostiler, (and so in othere thingis)

[1] *dedis* is added by a later hand.

CHAP. VII.

plesith oon gist, plesith not an other; and what point in these thingis offendith oon, plesith weel an other; and therfore where that the more such dyuersyte is had and founde, the more stiring therbi is had to plese manye gistis; and therbi folewingli the mo gistis wolen haue wil forto logge hem in thilk town, more than if ther were fewer dyuersytees, whiche schulde needis be in fewer ynnes. Thanne if this be trewe, and if thou answere to me thus; y answere to thee bi lijk skile, that therfore God purueied manye dyuerse religiouns to be in the chirche, for that bi so greet a dyuersite had in so manye religiouns (what for dyuersite of outward habit and of inward wering, and of diet, and of waking, and of officiyng, and of sitis, or of placing, and of bilding, and of othere suche manie,) the mo of the peple schulde be prouokid and stirid therbi into religioun, than if ther were fewer religiouns. Forwhi ij. gouernauncis ben comounli kept in hem whiche ben moved toward religioun: Oon is, that thei encerchen diligentli what pointis and thingis schulden greeue hem, and what pointis schulden plese hem in the place and in the ordre into which thei ben stirid, and what euere pointis thei fynden forto be to hem greuose thei dreden, and what pointis or thingis thei fynden forto be to hem plesaunt thei louen. An other is, that in multitude of men is so greet a dyuersite in affectis and passiouns, that thilk same point or thing which is plesaunt to oon man is displesaunt to an other man, and what is displesaunt to oon is pleasunt to the[1] other. Wherfore ther mai not so greet a multitude be weel willi to religioun, if in religioun be litil dyuersite of pointis, as if in religioun be gretter dyuersite of pointis. And gretter dyuersite of suche pointis ben in

[1] *the* is added by a later hand.

multitude of religiouns, rather than in fewer religiouns. Wherfore needis folewith that by multitude of religiouns men schulen be more stirid forto chese and take religioun, than bi fewer. And sithen religiouns ben profitable to Cristen peple, as it is bifore schewid in the [vj^{e}.][1] chapiter of this present v^{e}. parti, it folewith that it is profitable such multitude and diversite of religiouns to be, and so that God wolde haue men in the more noumbre and in the more affect be stirid toward religioun forto logge hem ther ynne, sithen it is bifore proued religiouns to be good. Therfore he ordeyned and purveied into thilk entent so manye dyuerse religiouns in the chirche. And ȝit herwith weelnyȝ of ech religioun he ordeyned or purueied to be manye dyuerse housis and placis, as thouȝ thei weren dyuerse ostries or herbouris forto logge the more multitude at her liking and plesaunt choise ther yn; and so, thouȝ the good of iij. principal vowis be lijke and oon in ech and alle religiouns, ȝit the othere plesauntis[2] and eesis of the religiosis persoones, whiche schulde tolle hem into religioun and whiche also schulde make hem the perfitlier and the stablier perfoorme her othere substancial vowis, ben not like and the same in alle religiouns and neither in alle housis of oon religioun. CHAP. VII.

The evil caused by the diversity of monastic rules is more than counterbalanced by the corresponding good.

And thouȝ summe harme and yuel cometh thoruȝ the hauyng of such now seid multitude, ȝit not so greet harme and yuel as is excludid bi the hauyng of so greet multitude; for not so greet harme and yuel as schulde come of this, that so greet multitude of persoones schulde not entre into tho religiouns, neither so myche harme as is the myche good which[3]

[1] A space left in the MS. for the number.

[2] Perhaps we should read *plesauncis*.

[3] *good myche cometh*, MS. (first hand); *which* being added in the margin and the marks of transposition inserted by a later hand. Perhaps we should read *the good whiche*.

CHAP. VII.

cometh bi the seid multitude and dyuersitie of religiouns. And thus y eende myn answere to the iiij^{e}. semyng skile bifore mad in the [iv^{e}.][1] chapiter of this present v^{e}. parti.

THE THIRD CONCLUSION IN FAVOUR OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS. They are lawful. Proof of the conclusion. They are neither forbidden by Scripture, reason, nor man's law.

The iij^{e}. principal conclusioun of this present v^{e}. partie is this: The vj^{e}. seid principal gouernaunce sett in the bigynnyng of this present v^{e}. partie is leeful. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: Ech gouernaunce or maner of conuersacioun which Holi Scripture weerneth not and forbedith not, doom of cleer and weel disposid natural resoun weerneth not and forbedith not, mannes lawe weerneth not and forbedith not, is leeful and not worthi be vndirnome and blamed. But so it is, that sectis and religiouns to be mad with inne the comoun Cristen religioun to men and to wommen forto be streitir to hem in moral conuersacioun, than is the fredom of the comoun Cristen religioun maad of preceptis of lawe of kinde and of feith reuelid bi holi autentik Scripture, is not weerned and forboden bi Holi Scripture, neither bi doom of weel disposid cleer natural resoun, neither bi mannys lawe. Wherfore needis folewith that forto haue summe suche religiose[2] gouernaunces is leeful, and not worthi to be vndirnome and blamed. The firste premysse of this argument is sufficiently proued bifore in the [v^{e}.][1] chapiter of the [ij^{e}.][1] parti of this book in the principal argument mad aȝens the vniust blamyng of the ij^{e}. gouernaunce: and the ij^{e}. premysse of this same argument is proued bi the firste and ij^{e}. principal conclusiouns of this fifthe parti fro the bigynnyng of the firste chapiter hidir to. Wherfore this present iij^{e}. principal conclusioun thus concludid and proued bi these ij. premyssis is needis trewe.

---

[1] Spaces are left for the references. See p. 166. This seems to be the place intended.

[2] *religioses*, MS. (first hand), which deserves attention: *religiosis persoones* occurs a little above.

viij. CHAPITER.

THE iiij^{e}. principal conclusioun of this present v^{e}. partie is this: Holi Scripture allowith[1] the seid vj^{e}. principal gouernaunce sett in the bigynnyng of this present v^{e}. parti. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue this: Religioun (as the name in Latyn therof schewith) is not ellis than an holding a3en or a bynding a3en or a tiyng up of a mannys wil bi ordinauncis therto chosun and takun, that he vse not his fredom in moral conuersacioun so largeli as he my3te withoute forbode of resoun and of God. Certis other thing than such now seid is not religioun, and ful weel religioun mai be likened to the binding a3en or the holding up bi which a man holdith vp with the bridil the heed of his ambuler, lest if[2] perauenture the hors were left to his fredom of the bridil he schulde be in perel forto the oftir spurne, and the wors to throwe him silf and the sitter on him; namelich whanne the sitter knowith weel the same ambuler be freel and prone and redi into stumbling, thou3 the wey be smothe and euen. Now that such religiose gouernaunce fyndable bi mannys avise is allowid[3] bi Holi Scripture forto be take withinne the bondis of the comoun lawe of kinde and of comoun feith to gidere, y proue thus. And first that Holi Writt of the Oold Testament allowith[1] it, y argue thus: What euer deede or thing Holi Scripture of the Oold Testament tellith or affermeth God haue do, Holi Writ allowith and confermeth, or ellis at the leest it allowith.[1]

THE FOURTH CONCLUSION. Scripture allows religious orders. Religion is a binding up of man's will by ordinances to what he would not be bound otherwise by the law of God or of reason. Such religions devised by man are allowed by Scripture, because God himself sometimes appointed such religions to men. Proof of this shall be made first from the Old Testament

---

[1] *allowith and approueth*, MS. (first hand), thrice.

[2] *if* is added in the margin by a much (?) later hand: it would most naturally be placed after *perauenture*.

[3] *allowid and approued*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VIII.

But so it is, that Holi Writt of the Oold Testament affermeth and witnessith God haue do, mad, and ordeyned, and sett such now seid religiosite to the lawe of kinde and of feith. Wherfore such religiosite so sett to lawe of kinde and of feith is witnessid and confermed, or at the leest allowid,[1] of Holi Writt in the Oold Testament.

Such religious restrictions imposed on Adam, Noah, and Abraham by God's covenants with them.

That Holi Writt affermeth and witnessith God haue do and maad such now seid religiosite, y proue thus: Holi Writt of the Oold Testament witnessith God to haue putt and sett Adam and Eue to such religiosite, Genes. ij[e].[2] c̃., whanne he forbade hem forto ete of a certeyn tree, of which ellis as bi the fredom of lawe of kinde thei myȝten haue ete. And also whanne God forbade to Noe and hise children forto ete fleisch to gidere with blood, Gen. [ix[e].][3] c̃. And whanne God bade Abraham and alle his children for euere to be circumcidid, Gen. [xvij[e].][3] c̃.

And on the Israelites by the Mosaic law.

And also whanne God ordeyned the cerymonyalis and the iudicialis so manye to the Iewis as the bookis of Exodi and of Numeri[4] maken ther of mensioun; what ellis dide he theryn, than that he made such now seid religiosite to be sett to lawe of kinde and of feith had bifore and puttid and assigned the Iewis therto for to be religiose persoones theryn and therbi? Certis resoun ful openli it schewith, so that it be bifore knowun what religioun is bi the discriuyng ther of now a litil bifore sett and tauȝt. Wherfore folewith needis, that Holi Writt of the Oold Testament allowith weel, ȝhe, and witnessith and confermeth such seid religiosite to be mowe leeffulli sett to the bifore had comoun lawe of kinde and of feith to gidere.

---

[1] *allowid and approued*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *i*., MS.

[3] Spaces are left for the numbers.

[4] Perhaps we should read *Numerorum*; or else *Exodus* above.

CHAP. VIII.

The observances of this law expressly called by the name of religion in the Old Testament.

Confirmacioun in strengist maner to this argument may be this: That Holi Writt of the Oold Testament clepith expressely the oold lawe, (which was mad bi God of cerymonyes, and was sette to the lawe of kinde and of feith thanne rennyng,) a religioun, may be proued. Forwhi God, speking of the Pascal lomb and of the obseruaunce in eting him, seide to the Iewis, Exod. xij^e. c̃. thus: *Whanne ȝoure sones schulen seie to ȝou, 'What is this religioun?' ȝe schulen seie to hem, 'It is the sacrifice of the passyng of the 'Lord, whanne he passid ouer the housis of the sones 'of Israel in Egipt, and smote Egipcianes, and delyuerede oure housis.'* And also sumwhat aftir in the same chapiter it is seid of the same obseruaunce thus; *This is the religioun of Phase; ech alien schal not ete therof, et cætera.* Also Exodi xxix^e. c̃. God seide to Moyses thus, *Thou schalt presente hise sones,* (that is to seie, the sones of Aaron,) *and thou schalt clothe with lynnun cootis, and thou schalt girde Aaron and hise sones with a girdil, and thou schalt sette mytris on hem, and thei schulen be my preestis bi euerlasting religioun.* Also, Leuytici vij^e. c̃. toward the eende, the maner of sacrificing vsid among Iewis in tho daies (in sleyng beestis and in offring up the fleisch of the beestis) God clepith "an euerlasting "religioun in her generaciouns." Also Leuit. xvj^e. c̃. almoost at the eende, the obseruance of expiacioun or of clensyng doon ȝeerli of the Iewis in the x^e. dai of the vij^e. monthe with the fasting and penance longing therto God clepid "an euerlasting religioun." Also Numeri xix^e. c̃. the sacrifice there tauȝt in sleing a cow in a certein maner God clepith "a re-"ligioun."

The restrictions imposed by Jonadab on his posterity were a religion, and were well approved by God, though of

Also in the tyme of Iewis Ionadab a Iew, the sone of Recab, bade that the sones comyng from him for euermore schulden not drinke wijn, neither bilde housis, neither tile lond neither vyneȝerdis, but that

CHAP. VIII. human invention.

thei schulden dwelle and holde hem paied forto dwelle in tabernaclis or tentis or loggis: and thei so diden, as it is open, Ierem. xxxv^c. c̃. What ellis was this than a religioun cast to the lawe of kinde and Goddis lawe ȝouun to Iewis mad of the cerymonies and iudicialis, as it is open bi the discriuyng of religioun bifore sett in this present chapiter; and bi this that it is now proued bifore, that the lawe of Iewis sett to the comoun lawe of kinde and of othere feith thanne bifore had was a religioun; and bi this that God preisid the sones of Ionadab for the perfit keping of this now seid religioun, as it is open Ieremye xxxv^c. c̃.? Wherfore folewith needis, that Holi Writt of the Oold Testament allowith, witnessith, and confermeth religioun to be sett of the newe to the comoun lawe of God bifore had and vsid, and that whether thilk comoun lawe bifore had and bifore vsid was lawe of kinde oonli, or ellis mad of lawe of kinde and of sum other feith bifore had, or ellis mad of lawe of kinde and of such now seid feith and of sum religioun bifore had and vsid.

Proof that the New Testament allows humanly devised religions. Christ never reproved the Pharisees as a sect or religion, but only as vicious men: and St. Paul would not have commended himself as being a Pharisee, if Pharisaism were abstractedly bad. HenceChrist and the Apostles appear to have allowed the institution of that religious order.

That Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament groundith and confermeth (or at the leest allowith[1]) such religioun to be sett to an hool sufficient lawe of God bifore had and vsid, y proue thus: The sect of Pharisees, which durid into the tyme of Cristis comyng and preching, was a religioun, as Poul witnessith, Acts xxvj^c. c̃. where he clepith it a religioun, seiyng thus: *Bi the moost certein sect y lyued a Pharisee.* And this religioun was not reproued of Crist in eny place of the Gospels[2] writing; thouȝ the persoones of thilk religioun weren reproued for synnes whiche thei diden, not as deedis of her religioun, but rather as

[1] *allouith and approueth*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *Golpels*, MS.

deedis bisidis her religioun, as for ambicioun, coueitise, ypocrisie, and suche othere. And in other wise weren not the Pharisees reproued of Crist, than the bischopis and the preestis weren reproued of Crist; notwithstonding that Crist reproued not the ordris of preesthode and of bischophode. For whi tho ordris weren foundid bi God him silf, and likeli it is, that if the religioun of the Pharisees hadde be reprouable, as the persoones weren, Crist wolde not haue sparid forto haue blamed boldeli the religioun, as he blamed the persoones of the religioun; and also Poul wolde not haue comendid him silf in that, that he was a Pharisee, Acts xxvj. c̃. and Galat. i^e. c̃.; but he wolde haue blamed thilk sect, and ȝit he not so doith. Wherfore it folewith as likeli, that Crist allowid weel the religioun of the Pharisees sett to the comoun lawe of Iewis thanne rennyng, thouȝ Crist blamed the persoones of the same religioun. And thanne the wordis seid of Crist, Math. xv^e. c̃.: *Al plaunting, which my heuenli Fader hath not plauntid, schal be drawe up bi the roote:* (whiche wordis many men vndirstonden Crist to haue seid and meened of the sect of Pharisees,) mowen and schulen conuenientli ynouȝ be vnderstonde of the yuel doctrine of thilk yuel tradiciouns and othere tradiciouns to hem lijk, which Crist blameth there in the same chapiter, Math. xv^e. c̃., and not of the sect of Pharisees. And if al this be trewe, thanne Holi Writt of the Newe Testament groundith and confermeth[1] weel suche seid religiouns forto be sett to a comoun lawe of God sufficient bifore had and vsid. CHAP. VIII.

What was the sect or the religioun of the Pharisees in her religiose werkis and dedis and vsis, it is seid by the Maister of the Stories in *The storie of the* Petrus Comestor shows wherein the rules of their order consisted.

[1] *confermeth and approueth*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. VIII.

Gospels, the [xxxj^{c}.] [1] chapiter of the same storijng, that thei lyueden streitli and in scant mete and drinke, and thei baren scrowis in her forehedis and in her lift arme; where yn the ten comaundementis of Moyses tablis weren writun, that thei myȝten therbi be remembrid the better forto kepe hem and not [2] offende aȝens hem.[3]

ix. CHAPITER.

Further, Christ appointed the law of sacraments to be observed by his followers concurrently with the law of nature, *i.e.*, instituted a religion in the sense above named. Now as it was lawful under the old law to add human religions to those ordained by God, so also it may be lawful now, more especially as Dionysius the Areopagite, converted by St. Paul, testifies that in his days monastic rules existed, which must needs have been framed by the

ALSO thus: Whanne Crist bifore his passioun, whilis he prechid, hadde reuokid the religioun of the cerimonies and iudicialis sett to the lawe of kinde, and vsid of the Iewis, (and it was leeful and sufficient ynouȝ to ech Iew and to ech other man being bifore hethen forto thanne lyue after the lawe of kinde oonli withoute the seid religiosite bifore vsid of the Iewis;) ȝit Crist afterward in tyme, that is to seie, after his resurreccioun, settid the lawe of hise sacramentis to the seid lawe of kinde; for whi thanne he ordeyned and bade in comaundement baptym to be receyued, as it is open, Matheu the laste chapiter, and Mark the laste chapiter. And sithen these sacramentis, whiche Crist settid so to the lawe of kinde and ordeynede hem to be vsid of Cristen men, is a religioun, as mai

[1] A space is left in the MS. for the number.

[2] *not* is interlineated in a later hand.

[3] "Pharisæi cultu austero et victu perparco utebantur, traditiones suas statuentes, quibus traditiones Moysi determinabant, pictacia chartarum in fronte gerebant et in sinistro brachio circumligata, quibus decalogus inscriptus erat." Petr. Comest. *Hist. Evang.* c. 31. fol. 191. Ed. Ludg. 1543. The *Historia Evangelica* is a section of the *Historia Scholastica*. See Fabric. *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inf. Æt.* vol. i. p. 1135. It appears that Comestor was sometimes called *Master of the Histories*. See *Nouv. Biogr. Génér.* tom. xi. p. 332. Paris, 1855.

CHAP. IX. consent of the Apostles themselves.

be proued bi the descripcioun of religioun ȝouun and putt bifore in the [viij^{e}.] [1] chapiter of this present v^{e}. partie, and also mai be proued bi this that the sacramentis, which God made and ȝaue ouer the lawe of kinde to the Iewis, was a[2] religioun, as is now bifore proued in this present chapiter; and therfore bi lijk skile thes sacramentis, whiche God ȝeueth now ouer the lawe of kinde to Cristen men, ben a religioun;—it folewith[3] that the hool lawe now assigned to Cristen men, mad of the lawe of kinde and of Cristis sacramentis, is a religiose lijf to hem: ȝhe, and folewith ferther that euen as it was sufferable and alloweable of God, that men lyuyng in the oold time vnder the hool lawe of Iewis founden other religiosite than the religiosite which God assigned immediatli to hem, and settiden thilk religiosite so bi hem founde to the al hool lawe of kinde and of religioun, which God to hem assigned, as is bifore schewid in the next chapiter of the sones of Ionadab the sone of Recab; so for lijk skile of resoun no man mai weerne, denye, or seie nay, but that men now lyuyng vndir the lawe of Cristen men mowen fynde other religioun or othere religiositees than the religioun or religiosite[4] of the sacramentis, which Crist hath assigned immediatli to hem, and mowen sette thilk religiosite so bi hem founde to al the hool lawe of kinde and of religioun, that is to seie, of Cristis sacramentis; (which hool lawe of kinde and of hise sacramentis Crist hath to hem immediatli assigned;) namelich sithen the Apostlis and the disciplis of the Apostlis (whiche disciplis weren hiȝe in wisdom and in auctorite and in fame in the daies of the Apostlis for to reule and gouerne

[1] A space is left in the MS. for the number.

[2] *a* is interlineated in a later hand.

[3] *folewe*, MS. (first hand), the correction being incomplete.

[4] *the religiosite*, MS. (first hand).

CHAP. IX.

and teche) suffriden and allowiden weel and receyueden such now seid religiosite foundun of newe bi men forto entre and to be sett and ioyned with the al[1] hool lawe of Crist thanne rennyng and mad of lawe of kinde and of Cristis sacramentis. Forwhi Dynys, which was turned into Cristen feith bi Poul the Apostle, (as Dynys seith him silf in his ,)[2] and was homeli conuersant with Peter and Iames and alle the othere Apostlis, as he seith in his book *Of Goddis names*, the iij^e. chapiter,[3] declarith that in hise daies and bi the avise of hiȝe statis in the chirche in tho daies was vsid a certein fourme bi him silf[4] forto ordeyne hem whiche wolden be monkis, and an other fourme bi him silf forto ordeyne hem which wolden be preestis, and another fourme bi him silf for to ordeyne hem whiche schulden be bischopis, and this couthe not so soone haue be doon withoute the avise and the consent therto ȝouun of the Apostlis.[5] Wherfore folewith that bothe bi the Apostlis and bi the worthi wise men conuertid into the feith of the Apostlis the religioun of a certein monkehode founde bi mennys witt and deuocioun entrid thanne, and was sett to the al hool lawe of Cristen men maad of the lawe of kinde and of Cristis sacramentis; to which man sett into monkhode, as Dynys there declarith, longith forto leue such seculer habit as he bifore werid, and forto be schorne other wise in his heed, and forto haue hiȝer consideratijf and contemplatijf

[1] *with al*, MS. (first hand).

[2] A space left for the reference. St. Luke states the fact here alluded to (Acts xvii. 34), and more than one martyrology affirms that St. Paul baptized him (see Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. Op. tom. ii. p. 268); but there seems to be no allusion to this in the works of the pseudo-Areopagite, unless it be a vague one in *De Div. nom.* c. 3. Op. tom. i. p. 537.

[3] Op. tom. i. p. 539.

[4] *silf* is added in the margin by a late hand.

[5] See his book *De Eccl. Hier.* passim. Op. tom. i. pp. 387, 363, &c.

occupaciouns than the othere comoun peple of the Jayfe han. CHAP. IX.

Also Christ allowed of religions (as above defined) when he said that we should cut off our right hand or right foot, if they scandalize us. Religious orders were specially instituted for the removal of scandals such as these, though the things forbidden by them be not abstractedly unlawful.

Ferthermore that Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament witnessith and allowith[1] religioun of mannys deuising forto mowe be sett to the lawe foundid bi Crist to Cristen men, y may also proue thus: Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament witnessith and allowith[1] this: If a manys riȝt iȝe sclaundre him (that is to seie, violentli and ferseli and as it were vnaȝenstondeabli bringith him into synne and lettith fro the more good to be doon,) that he "pulle him out and "caste him awey;" and if his riȝt hond or his riȝt foot sclaundre him, (that is to seie, so as is seid violentli and feersli bringe him to synne and lett fro the more good to be doon,) that he "kutte of thilk "hond and foot," as it is writun [Math. v^e. c̃.].[2] And sithen this Scripture now alleggid meeneth not of a mannys bodili membris, but of a mannys kunnyngis, purposis, and deedis, signified bi likenes in parabolik speche to the iȝe, the hond, and the foot, that thouȝ thei be riȝt, (that is to seie, alloweable as bi the comoun lawe of God,) ȝit if thei in the maner now seid sclaundre the hauer and the doer of hem, he mai iustli and vertuoseli leue hem, so that thei be not bede vndir comaundement of Goddis lawe. And the skile of this gouernaunce is sett forth in the same place of Scripture there thus, "It is better to "thee forto entre sureli into lijf with oon iȝe, oon "foot, and oon hond," (that is to seie, with the lasse good kunnyng, the lasse gode wilnyngis, and purposis, and with the fewer gode dedis,) "than forto be aboute "to haue mo" good kunnyngis, mo gode purposis, and mo gode deedis, "and" (therbi and bi occasioun of hem) "falle doun into helle." And thus doon reli-

[1] *allowith and approueth*, MS. (first hand) twice.

[2] A space left in the MS. for the reference.

CHAP. IX.

giose persoones, and for this eende religiouns weren founde and foundid. For whi, bi cause that to manye persoones for her freelnes the homeli and free cumpenying with the world and with the fleisch grantid bi Goddis comoun lawe was to hem ouer contagiose and in the now seid maner sclaundring; therfore thei kuttiden hem awey with reulis and statutis and obseruauncis of religions now had and vsid in the chirche. Wherfore the now alleggid Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament sufficientli allowith[1] religions fyndable bi men to be mowe leeffulli had and sett to the lawe ȝouun bi Crist, ȝhe, and also the seid now alleggid Holi Scripture sufficientli allowith and confermeth alle thilk same religiouns, whiche now ben in the chirche; namelich with this that it is bifore proued noon of hem herwith to haue eny obseruaunce, rite, or statute, or vow, but vndir such vndirstonding that it schal obeie to ech comaundement of Goddis lawe thanne being and not[2] stonde aȝens eny such comaundement of Goddis lawe.

It is idle to say that the deeds of religious orders are lawful, but that religious vows are not so. The lawfulness of vows proved.

If eny man wolde be so nyce forto seie and holde, that it is leeful to haue and vse in the clergie and laife the deedis and gouernaunce of religioun with oute bond, (vndir fredom to leue hem whanne euere a man wole,) and it is not leeful forto haue hem and vse hem in boond; certis thanne muste ech such man seie and holde, that it is not leeful eny man or womman forto vowe eny deede to which he is not bifore bound; for if it be leeful forto so vowe oon such deede, bi lijk skile it is leeful for to vowe ij. or iij., iiij. or v., and so forth; and ȝit that it is leeful a widowe for to[3] vowe chastite, it is open bi Poul, i^{e}. Thim. v^{e}. c̃. And therfore this cavillacioun now rehercid is not worth.

---

[1] *allowith and approueth*, MS. (first hand).

[2] *to not*, MS.

[3] *to* is interlineated in a later hand.

x. Chapiter.

And thus herbi it is open, that noon of the religiouns now vsid among Cristen men with the comoun hool lawe of Cristente eny man mai reproue or blame to be as for this, that thei ben religiouns founde bi men and sett to the hool religiose lawe which Crist assigned to Cristen men. Wherfore if eny men wolen be aboute forto reproue and blame eny of these now seid and vsid religions to be, certis he muste take to him other cause and ground than this, that thei ben religiouns founden bi men and sett bi men to the seid hool lawe of Crist. And therfore he muste take to him this cause and ground, that summe statutis and ordinauncis of these religiouns ben aȝens the seid hool lawe of Crist; and sithen thilk lawe of Crist is not maad but of lawe of kinde and of Cristis sacramentis, he muste pretende and take for cause of his reprouyng and blaming that summe of these seid statutis and ordinauncis ben aȝens lawe of kinde or aȝens the lawe of Cristis sacramentis; and ellis he maie neuere in eny thing worth be aboute to reproue and blame eny of these seid religions to be. And certis forto proue and menteyne this pretencioun is ouer hard to eny man on lyue. Forwhi the iij. principal vowis, whiche ben oon and the same in ech religioun now vsid in the chirche, ben not aȝens the comaundementis of lawe of kinde neither aȝens the ordinaunce of Cristis sacramentis. And of ech other statute or obseruaunce kept and vsid in eny of the seid religiouns it is so, that noon of hem is mad to be takun into vse saue with this vndirstonding and condicioun, if and as he accordith with the comaundementis of lawe of kinde and of Cristis sacramentis. And therfore if it can be schewid and proued sureli

The only fair ground of objection against the religious orders would be this, that their statutes contain some things contrary to the law of nature or of Christ's sacraments. But this cannot be shown; for the principal vows, common to all the religious orders, are not contrary to either of these, and all other observances are obeyed only under the condition that they do not contradict these. Accordingly, when necessity so requires, a man has a dispensation to be released from them.

CHAP. X.

and openli, that eny of her obseruauncis and ritis in eny point sowne or seme aȝens eny such comaundement, thei schulen as in that not binde neither holde; but thei schulen be vnderstonde and be take, as thei accorden with the seid comaundementis. And ferthermore, aftir that eny man hath professid eny of tho religiouns and is receyued into it, if it can be openli proued and schewid that he is bounden bi comaundement of Goddis lawe for to do eny certein deede out of thilk religioun for eny certein while or for al his lyuys tyme, sotheli thilk religioun is noon harder neither streiter holding, but that thilk man schal haue good leue and licence forto wirche and do the so proued deede out of the religioun for the same while. And therfore, sithen this is the[1] very and dew vndirstonding and entent of ech such religioun, noon of such religioun can as in that be reproued and be blamed to be.

Yet a man must not be suffered to leave his cloister on every slight pretence, that duty requires his services elsewhere.

Neuertheles al wisdom, al discrecioun wole, and therfore the ful hool wil of God wole, that not for ech pretensioun liȝtli maad neither for eny pretensioun maad, that the religiose man ouȝte bi strengthe and comaundement of Goddis lawe lyue out of his cloister forto do this deede or that deede, [he schulde] be licencid for to so and therto go out of his couent and cloistre, into tyme it be proued sureli and openli that forto so go out and forto do thilk deede bi his owne persoon he is bounde bi comaundement of Cristis lawe. For certis, if at ech colorable argument which myȝte be maad into such purpos for to iustifie religiose mennys out going for a long while or for alwey, religiose persoones schulden be licencid forto so go out or schulde be putt and sett in hope that bi strong sewte thei myȝten so go out, there schulden be maad so

[1] *the* is added by a later hand.

stronge and longe and wordful disputing and pleding and so bisy sewt (what bi preiyng, and what bi thretenyng, and meedis ȝeuyng, and biheting) that ful manye vniust goingis out schulden be maad and doon, and so manye grete synnes of iust vowis breking schulden be doon, and miche troubelose worldli vnrestfulnes schulde be brouȝte ynto the hertis of tho religiose persoones ful vnaccording and contrariose to her religiose vertuose lyuyng, as to ech mannys resoun which hath experience of this worldis cumberaunce this is ful sureli knowun. And therfore Godis forbode that in mater of so greet and so holi a purpos, as suche religiouns now bifore ben proued to be, eny persoon schulde be licencid fro his cloister, or fro his habit vndir such as now is pretendid colour without sufficient proof of the same colour had at the vttrist, as ful seeld it is suche caasis to falle. CHAP.

And aȝenward, if such proof be had, Goddis forbode be it, but that such a persoon be licencid to go; for the entent of the fundacioun of thilk religioun is not theraȝens but therwith, as is now bifore seid; for as miche as al what euer is founde and foundid and maad bi man ouȝte obeie to it what is founde and foundid bi God him silf, and that is doom of riȝt resoun and vce of hise sacramentis. And in this maner and for such pretendid and weel proued causis religiose persoones ben licencid forto leue perpetuali her professid religiouns; as that nunnys han be takun out of her cloistris, and han be weddid to princis; and monkis han be take out of her cloistris, and han be weddid and mad kingis;[1] namelich whanne therupon hangith ceesing of greet werre and making of greet pees or othere causis like grete weel and surely proued to be trewe; and claustral monkis han be

At the same time, when it is surely proved that monks or nuns are called to the duties of active life, their vows may be, and have been, set aside. Such persons have left their cloisters to be made kings, queens, and bishops.

[1] *and mad kingis* is interlineated in a later hand.

CHAP. X.

licencid forto be summe heremytis and summe reclusis; and manye monkis han be take out of cloistir lijf to be bischopis.

It has now been shown that no objection can be justly made against the religious orders on the score of their being human inventions, or on the ground that any of their statutes are contrary to the law of Christ; and it thus follows that they cannot be blamed as unlawful.

And so, if alle thingis ben aboute wel considerid longing to the religiouns now vsid in the chirche, noon of hem alle is chalengeable and blameable to be, for that eny point of his fundacioun is meened to be a3ens the comaundement of lawe of kinde or of Cristis sacramentis, how euer it be with the badde disposiciouns and the badde lyuyng of summe persoones in tho religiouns; whos badde lyuyngis is no cause forto therbi proue the religiouns to be badde. For no wey is forto proue that eny of tho religiouns is badde, saue these ij. now bifore tretid; that is to seie, oon, that noon religioun ou3te be founde bi man forto be sett to the lawe divisid and ordeyned and assigned bi Crist; and the other is, that thou3 it be leeful religioun to be founde and sett to the lawe of Crist, 3it sum statute, rite, or obseruaunce of these religiouns ben a3ens the comaundement of Cristis lawe maad of lawe of kinde and of sacramentis. And sithen noon of these ij. weies mowe sufficientli be founde in eny of the religiouns now had and vsid, as is now openli and sureli proued, it folewith needis that noon of these religiouns mowe worthili be reproued and blamed to be, that is to seie, as an vnleeful thing.

Nevertheless, the employments of all the different religious orders are not equally useful; and in the case of each of them, changes might be made in their occupations with great advantage.

Neuertheles this is open ynow, that not in alle religiouns the occupaciouns assigned and foundid bi the religioun ben like fruyteful with the occupaciouns of sum other religioun; and also in ech religioun now vsid the occupaciouns foundid and devisid bi the religioun bisidis the thre principal vowis, (that is to seie, of chastite, of wilful and expropriat pouerte, and of obedience to the prelat, whanne he comaundith comaundementis of the religioun,) my3te be myche amendid, bothe the occupaciouns of her preiyng and officiyng and of her contemplacioun, and also the occu-

paciouns of her studiyng and leernyng, as her of declaracioun open is mad in othere placis of my writing. But ȝit this argueth not and proueth not tho occupaciouns to be nauȝt, neither to be vnfruytful, or not gode and not fruyteful. Forwhi a greet maistrie it had be to the wijsist carpenter that euer was forto haue mad an hous so fair, so weel, and so esy, which couthe not bi eny of hise aftir comers be in summe pointis amendid.

The present conclusion may also be proved in the same manner that another conclusion has been already proved.

Also this present iiij^e. conclusioun may be proued vnsoilabili bi a processe of thre supposiciouns [and] of an argument formed upon hem toward the eende of the firste partie in this present book; which argument there maad is vnsoileable, if therto be sett the argument of experience which is sett aftir in this present v^e. partie for proof of the v^e. principal conclusioun.[1] And thus y eende the proof of the iiij^e. principal conclusioun.

xj. CHAPITER.

THE FIFTH PRINCIPAL CONCLUSION. Reason does not condemn the institution of religious orders. This has in fact been already proved from Christ's words, which in very truth only bear witness to the verdict of natural reason.

THE v^e. principal conclusioun of this present v^e. partie is this: Doom of clenli and cleenli disposid resoun in kinde allowith and approueth the seid vj^e. principal gouernaunce to be take withinne the bondis of the comoun lawe of kinde and of comoun feith to gidere. That this conclusioun is trewe, y proue thus: *It is bettir to a man forto entre sureli into lijf with oon yȝe, oon hond, oon foot, et cætera.* Loke bifore in the eende of the [ix^e.][2] chapiter of this v^e. partie where these now sett wordis ben write, and rede

[1] See Part I. c. xix.

[2] A space left in the MS. for the number.

CHAP. XI.

there and frothens forth into the eende of the argument, and thou schalt se ful open proof for this now purposed and spoken entent; bi cause that al what Scripture theryn dooth is not but forto witnesse or remembre, what doom of resoun iugith, allowith, and approueth; and so thilk processe serueth for bothe the iiij^{e}. and the v^{e}. principal conclusiouns, and therfore it is no nede forto write the same proof of resoun eftsoone here.

Another proof of the conclusion. Any institution, which makes many men better or less bad than they otherwise would be, commends itself to reason; and the institution of religious orders has done this.

Also in to proof of this present v^{e}. principal conclusioun y mai argue bi resoun and experience to gidere thus: Thilk gouernance is worthi be allowid and approued of resoun, which gouernaunce makith manye mo men in Cristendom to be morali vertuose and gode, or forto be myche lasse morali viciose and yuel, than thei schulden be, if thilk gouernaunce were not. But so it is, that religioun is thilk gouernaunce, bi which many hundrid thousind of soulis han lyued ful vertuoseli, which ellis wolden have lyued ful vicioseli; and also bi religioun manye hundrid thousindis han lyued miche lasse vicioseli in religioun, than thei schulden haue lyued, if religion hadde not be. Wherfore that such religioun be, is alloweable and approuable of ech cleerli in kinde disposid resoun.

The second premises of the argument proved from experience. At the same time some men are so disposed, that they will live better lives out of the cloister than within it, as Pecock has shown in *The Donet*.

The ij^{e}. premysse of this argument mai be proued thus: Take thou into mynde alle tho men, whiche han be in religioun sithen religioun biganne, and marke thou weel thanne how these men schulden haue lyued, if thei hadden not lyued in religioun; and certis thou schalt not fynde, as weel nyζ for hem alle, that thei schulden haue lyued other wise than as now or than lyuen or lyueden gileful crafti men, or iurouris and questmongers, or pleders for mony, (thouζ the causis of plee be wrong,) or as sowdiers forto fiζte and slee for spoile and money; ζhe, schortli to seie, or forto lyue as we now seen weel nyζ alle worldli peple lyue bothe fleischli and coueitosli and

vntreuli to God and to man. And bi cause thei han lyued in religioun thei han not lyued so as is now rehercid, but myche better. Wherfore the ij^e^. premysse of this present argument is trewe. And thouȝ it be so, that in religioun manye men han lyued louceli fro vertu, ȝit tho han be fewe in reward of the othere, which han ther yn lyued vertuoseli; ȝhe, and thei han lyued in religioun more vertuoseli or lasse vicioseli, than if thei had lyued out of religioun. And thouȝ tho badde lyuers in religioun han lyued ther yn so vicioseli, ȝit myche more vicioseli thei wolden haue lyued, if thei hadden lyued out of religioun. And therfore, if it be weel and wijsly and treuli aboute considerid, it wole be seen that religioun is a ful noble hegge forto close yn him men and wommen, that tho whiche ben weel disposid schulen be kept from yuel, into which withoute thilk hegge thei schulden falle; and tho whiche ben yuel disposid schulen be kept that thei schulen falle not into so myche yuel, as thei schulden falle, if thei weren withoute hegge. This bifallith ofte and miche and for the more parti in noumbre of hem that lyuen in religioun, thouȝ y seie not that it so farith bi alle hem which lyuen in religioun. And herbi it is sufficientli proued, that religioun is bi deom of resoun allowable and approuable. And ȝit therwith stondith what y haue seid in the extract or outdrauȝt of *The Donet*, that summe men ben so disposid that thei schulen lyue better out of religioun than in religioun, so that to suche summe persoones religioun schulde be an occasioun of her more goostli harme and hurt. And this is ynouȝ for proof of this present v^e^. principal conclusioun. CHAP. XI.

Certis if this present argument be take into perfit and ful avise and into depe leiserful consideracioun, it wole be seen that he proueth myȝtili this present v^e^. conclusioun, and schal be to euery considerer A careful consideration of the facts will prove this argument in favour of the religious orders to be a very strong one.

CHAP. XI.

a[1] ful strong motyue forto fauore religion; sithen peple han be and ben and schulen be so freel as experience zeueth that thei ben.

THE SIXTH CONCLUSION. Religious orders are lawful. Proof of this, and of the following conclusions, is made in the same manner as similar conclusions in favour of other ordinances have been proved.

The vj^e^. principal conclusioun of this present v^e^. parti is this: The seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce sett in the bigynnyng of this present v^e^. partie is leeful in proprist maner of leefulnes. Forwhi, what euer gouernaunce is allowid and approued bi Holi Scripture and bi doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde, is leeful in proprist maner of leefulnes, as it is open be the supposicioun or reul sett bifore in the [i^e^.][2] chapiter of the ij^e^. partie in this book. But so it is, that the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce is allowid and approued bi[3] Holi Scripture and bi doom of kindeli cleer disposid resoun, as it is now proued bi the next bifore goyng iiij^e^. and v^e^. principal conclusions. Wherfore needis folewith that the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce is in proprist maner leeful.

THE SEVENTH CONCLUSION. Religious orders are an institution of God's law. Proof of the conclusion.

The vij^e^. principal conclusioun of this present fifthe partie is this: The seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe. Forwhi what euer gouernaunce is allowid and approued bi Holi Scripture and bi doom of cleer and weel disposid resoun, is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe. But so it is, that the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce is allowid and approued bi Holi Scripture and bi such seid doom of resoun, as the next bifore going iv^e^. and v^e^. principal conclusiouns wel schewen. Wherfore the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce is a gouernaunce of Goddis lawe.

THE EIGHTH CONCLUSION. It is no sin for a man to set an example to others,

The viij^e^. principal conclusioun of this present v^e^. partie is this: A man in ensaumpling bi hise deedis to othere men the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce

---

[1] *a* is added in a later hand.

[2] A space is left in the MS. for the number. See pp. 134, 135, compared with p. 167.

[3] *bothe bi*, MS. (first hand).

synneth not as in that and therfore, but he ther yn deserueth thank and meede of God. Forwhi in ensaumpling of a gouernaunce being Goddis lawe noman synneth as in that and for that, but he ther yn plesith God and deserueth thank and meede. And so it is, that the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce is Goddis lawe, as the next bifore going principal conclusioun weel schewith and proueth. Wherfore in ensaumpling bi deede the seid vj^e^. principal gouernaunce to othere men, noman synneth as in that and for that, if othere causis of synnyng ben awey; but he ther yn deserueth weel.

CHAP. XI. of observing the rules of a religious order. Proof of the conclusion.

xij. CHAPITER.

FERTHERMORE it is to wite, that summe of the lay peple not oonli holden aȝens the substaunce of the seid religiouns now had and vsid in the chirche; but also thei holden aȝens the habitis, whiche bi tho religiouns ben assigned to be worn of the religiose persoones. And thei seien that no good skile is, whi tho religiose persoones schulden were so straunge and dyuerse formes of habitis fro her othere Cristen britheren.

Furthermore certain persons object to the habits worn by the religious orders.

Also summe of the lay partie blamen and holden aȝens this, that religiose monasteries (namelich of the begging religiouns) han withinne her gatis and cloocis grete, large, wijde, hiȝe, and stateli mansiouns for lordis and ladies ther yn to reste, abide, and dwelle; and this, that thei han large and wijde chirchis like sumwhat to cathedral or modir chirchis of diocisis.

Also that monasteries contain stately mansions for the reception of lords and ladies, and spacious churches resembling cathedrals.

Also summe of the lay peple blamen and scornen and holden aȝens this, that bi the religioun of Seint Fraunces the religiose persoones of thilk religion schulen not handle and touche with her hond neither bere aboute hem eny money, that is to seye, eny

Also that the Franciscan friars may not touch nor bear money, while they may keep it in their coffers and count it with a stick's end, and may

CHAP. XII.

handle jewels and costly plate.

gold or siluer or othere metal koyned; and ȝit thei ben not weerned bi the same religioun forto telle such money with a stik holdun in her hond, neither forto kepe it in her cofris, neither thei ben weerned for to holde, bere, touche, and handle cuppis and dischis, knyfis and iewelis of siluer and of gold, how euer preciose and delectable to the siȝt tho iewelis ben.

Vindication of these matters shall now be made. Three arguments may be adduced in favour of the habits worn by the religious orders. The first argument. It is reasonable that persons belonging to these orders should be distinguished by some sign from others and no sign is so appropriate as the whole clothing for this purpose.

And therfore aftir that fro the bigynnyng of the [ix^{e}.][1] chapiter of this present v^{e}. parti hidir to it is proued and stabilid, that it is leeful ynouȝ suche religiouns to be and to renne in vce with the comoun Cristen religioun, y schal now iustifie these here now rehercid thre gouernauncis so vniustli of the lay peple blamed; for y schal expresse and open how that ech of these thre now spokun gouernauncis mai be don and vsid vnder resonable and gode causis. And first into iustifiyng of the firste of these now rehercid gouernauncis, I procede bi iij. principal causis, of which the firste cause is this: Sithen it is sufficientli bifore[2] proued that such seid religiouns be in the chirche, it muste needis therwith [be] resonable, good, and profitable, that the religiose persoones of tho religiouns haue a mark and a signe, wherbi thei mowen openli be knowe fro othere persoones being not in tho religiouns; riȝt as, sithen the ordris of dekenys and of preestis musten needis be, it is ful resonable and profitable that summe markis be had, wherbi dekenys mowen openli be knowe fro preestis, and markis wherbi bothe dekenis and preestis mowen openli be knowe fro lay men. But so it is, that this open mark and signe may not be take sufficientli bi her persoones and her natural bodies, sithen her natural bodies ben like to the natural bodies of othere men. Wher fore

[1] A space left in the MS. for the number.

[2] *bifore* is added in the margin by a later hand.

thilk mark muste be take bi her clothing or bi sum mark or signe to be sett and fastned into her clothing. And thanne ferther thus: Sithen the al hool greet clothing is abler to ȝeue this now seid knowing, than schulde be eny lasse mark to be sett into the same clothing; it folewith that the al[1] hool outward seable habit schulde rather be ordeyned into this mark, than eny other lasse thing.

Confirmacioun herto may be this: Not withstonding that wommen mowen be knowe sumwhat fro men bi her natural visagis, ȝit it is resonable and profitable that thei be knowe asunder bi her outward habitis. Wherfore miche rather it is resonable, that a religiose persoon be knowe bi outward habit fro othere persoones not religiose, sithen bi her natural bodies thei mowen not so[2] weel be knowe asundir as mowen be asunder knowe men and wommen. Also it is holde resonable, alloweable, and profitable, that oon temporal lordis meyne haue clothing dyuers fro the clothing of an other temporal lordis meyne; namelich, whanne thei schulen be medlid to gidere in sum oon citee or toun, that the seruauntis of the oon lord mai be knowe fro the seruauntis of the other lord. And in lijk maner in the citee of London it is holde for resonable and profitable, that the persoones of oon craft haue clothing dyuers fro the persoones of an other craft. And al this is for lasse nede or for lasse good cause, than is the cause for whiche religiose persoones schulden be knowen openly fro persoones not religiose. Wherfore it is alloweable, good, resonable,[3] and profitable, that religiose persoones haue habit dyuers fro the habit of

Confirmation of the argument. The different sexes and the different crafts are distinguished by their different clothing. Also as the servants of one lord are known apart from those of another by their livery, it is requisite that the brethren of the various religious orders should be recognized by their various habits.

[1] *al the*, MS. (first hand), the marks of transposition being probably in another hand; but the correction is sanctioned by the analogy of other passages.

[2] *so* is added in a later hand.

[3] *good, resonable*, is added in the margin by a later hand.

CHAP. XII.

othere persoones not religiose. And if this be trewe, certis resonable and alloweable it is, that the habit of oon such religioun be dyuers fro the habit of an other such religioun; and that ech such religioun haue to him his propre assigned habit, namelich, sithen it is alloweable that multitude of suche religiouns be had and vsid in the chirche, as it is bifore in this v^e. parti sufficientli proued.

The second argument. The habits of the religious orders serve to remind the brethren of the vows and charges which they have undertaken to perform.

The secunde cause into the iustifiyng of this same firste gouernaunce is this: Sithen it is so, that suche religiouns ben alloweable, (as it is bifore sufficientli proued),[1] it is alloweable and ful resonable and profitable, that the religiose persoones in tho religiouns haue ofte in her siȝt or feeling and therbi ofte in her mynde rememoratijf[2] signes forto ofte and myche therbi be remembrid upon the chargis of the religioun, whiche thei han taken upon hem to kepe and fulfille; riȝt as for such cause God wolde that the comoun peple of the Iewis schulde haue the comaundementis of Moyses tablis writun in the wallis of her chambris biholding aȝens her beddis, and in the wallis of her hallis biholding aȝens her mete table. But so it is, that no more conuenient, redier, and ofter seen and feelid remembratijf signe into this seid purpos for religiose persoones couthe be founde and assigned, than her outward habit. Wherfore it is resonable, alloweable, and profitable, that her outward habit be mad to hem into such for hem a remembring signe forto hem remembre ofte and myche into the chargis of her religioun taken upon hem. And thus myȝte not her habit be to hem such a remembring signe, but

[1] The first lines of this paragraph (as far as *proued*) occur twice over in the MS.; the first attempt being full of mistakes is cancelled.

[2] *remembratijf*, MS. originally, but the correction may have been made by the original scribe. As the form occurs twice below unaltered it has been retained in the text, but it is exceedingly suspicious.

if it were dyuers fro the habit of othere persoones not religiose; neither the outward habit of oon religioun myȝte so perfitli and so sufficientli move and remembre into the al hool charge of his religioun, if it were not sum what dyuers fro the outward habit of an other religioun, as it may, if it be sum what dyuers. Wherfore it is resonable, alloweable, and profitable for cause of remembring, that religiose persoones haue outward habitis dyuerse fro the outward habitis of lay men, and that the persoones of oon religioun haue her outward habit dyuers fro the outward habit of persoones in an other religion.

They are also profitable signs to secular persons.

Also the outward habitis of religiose persoones mowen be remembratijf signes to the lay peple not religiose forto remembre hem silf therbi thus: Lo, these persoones thus clothid han forsake the greet entermeting with the world and the greet felicite and prosperite of the world for the greet ioie, reward, and mede, which thei therfore abiden to haue in heuen; it is good therfore to us forto do in the same wise, or in sum other wise lijk[1] good to us or more, according to oure abilte. Wherfore it muste needis be, that also into the remembring of persoones not being religiose as of persoones being religiose, it is alloweable and profitable that religiose persoones haue habitis propre to her religiouns.

The third argument. A sober and somewhat unsightly habit, imposed by their rule on the religious brethren, restrains them from that vainglorious love of dress into which they might otherwise fall.

The iij^e. cause into iustifiyng of this same firste gouernance is this: Sithen suche religiouns ben alloweable to be, (as it is bifore sufficientli proued,) and alle men bi her natural freelnes ben redi and prompte into gaynes of aray and into dyuerse fyndingis of schap in aray for vein glorie and for othere not gode causis, it is resonable, alloweable, and pro-

[1] *or in sum other wise lijk* is added in a later hand, and partly written on an erasure.

CHAP. XII.

fitable, if sum remedie be devisid, take, and vsid, wherbi refreinyng and lett mai be mad to this perel now rehercid. But so it is, that for to dyuyse, take, and vse stabili oon schap of outward habit, (namelich such a schap which is rather foul than gay, and which schulde rather lette fro glorie than tice into glorie,) and for to dyvise, take, and vse stabili oon colour of clooth in outward habit is a ful noble remedie and a refreynyng aȝens the seid natural freelnes, bi whiche religiose persoones myȝten and wolden ellis breke forth into nyce fyndingis of dyuerse schappis in her outward aray and into gay and riche blasing colour, and so ther yn synne bi manye wijsis. Therfore it is resonable, alloweable, and profitable for cause of such refreynyng, that in ech such religioun the religiose persoones haue her outward habitis stabilid to hem in oon maner of sumwhat foul or vnfair schap and in oon maner of poor and symple colour, and that thei be bounde forto holde hem stabili and vnchaungeabili therto. And thus miche is ynouȝ for iustifiyng of the firste gouernaunce.

xiij. CHAPITER.

The stately mansions and churches of monasteries justified by four arguments. The first argument. It is expedient that lords and ladies, when they come into cities, be lodged in places where they may be removed from the world, and may associate with religious persons, and may attend divine service. And the mansions of the religious houses are places of this kind.

INTO the iustifiyng of the ij^{e}. gouernaunce y procede bi iiij. causis, of whiche the firste is this: It is alloweable, profitable, and procurable bi therto strecching meenis, that lordis and ladies, whanne thei schulen come to citees, be loggid out fro the myche entermeting of the world in suche placis where the world schal be myche holde out of her siȝt and out of her cumpenying, that he ȝeue not to hem occasiouns of yuel; and where thei mowen haue redi at siȝt and speche cumpenying with religiose persoones forto aske of hem counseil and exortacioun into good and perfit lyuyng; and where thei mowen heere

dyuyne officis of euensong and matins and masse and prechingis, and mowen bi ofte seing of religiose gouernauncis and obseruauncis be moued the more into contricioun, compunccioun, and deuocioun. And sithen these noble and notable and riȝt profitable effectis of perfiting lordis and ladies mowen not be so weel had and gete to lordis and ladies, if thei schulden dwelle in citees out of mansiouns bildid with inne religiose gatis, as if thei schulden dwelle in mansiouns bildid with inne religiosis gatis; it folewith nedis, that for this cause of the more perfiting lordis and ladies it is alloweable, resonable, and profitable hem to haue mansiouns couenable for hem within the monasteries of religiose persoones, of what euer religioun tho religiose persoones ben.

The second argument. The hospitality afforded to persons of rank within these mansions moves them to defend the rights of the religious houses.

The ij^e. cause into the iustifiyng of the ij^e. gouernaunce is this: It is alloweable, resonable, and profitable that religiose persoones, of what euer religioun thei ben, haue freendis and menteyners and defenders; namelich to haue lordis and ladies into her menteyners and defenders aȝens wrongers and diffamers of the synful and wickid world, for that lordis and ladies ben myȝtier forto so menteyne and defende than othere louȝer persoones ben. But so it is, that bi this that lordis and ladies dwellen withinne the monasteries of religiose persoones, tho lordis and ladies wolen and musten needis bi kindenes and bi resoun be moued forto be bi so myche the more and the better menteyners [and] defenderis to the same religiose persoones and to the freendis of the same religiose persoones. Wherfore for this ij^e. cause of frendschip geting and holding to religiose persoones, it is resonable, alloweable, and profitable, if mansiouns for lordis and ladies be bildid withinne the cloosis and gatis of religiose monasteries, of what euer religioun tho monasteries be, but if the reule of thilk religioun it weerne; which excepcioun y vndirstonde

CHAP. XIII.

thoruȝ out al the iustifiyng of this present ij^e. gouernaunce.

The third argument. The presence of such persons has a good effect on the conduct of the brethren themselves.

The iij^e. cause is this: If lordis and ladies and othere reuerend persoones dwelle nyȝ to religiose persoones, tho persoones wolen be bi so miche the more waar and ferd forto[1] trespace and do amys and forto be of eny bad reule, lest thei of so credible witnessers be aspied and of her so grete benefeters the rather forsakun; and certis this is a greet profit comyng to the persoones of the religioun, for it is a goostli profit ful greet.

The fourth argument. These great persons will be more ready to give alms to the mendicant orders, if they are lodged within their monasteries, and thus the poor will be relieved, from whom more alms would otherwise be solicited by the friars.

The iiij^e. cause into the iustifiyng of this ij^e. gouernaunce is this: If religiose persoones of the begging ordris receyue myche and grete almessis of lordis and ladies, tho persoones han the lasse neede for to spende tyme in going aboute forto begge of the poorer peple; and so as ther yn schal ese come bothe to the nedi religiose persones[2] and also to the poor comoun peple, of whiche ellis almessis schulden be the more askid. And sithen bi this, that lordis and ladies schulen be loggid in mansiouns bildid withinne the monasteries of the begging religiouns, tho lordis and ladies schulen be the redier forto ȝeue her almessis to the persoones of thilk religiouns; it folewith that for this iiij^e. cause of aliȝting the poor men it is alloweable and profitable, that lordis and ladies haue mansiouns with inne the cloocis gatis[2] and monasteries of the begging religiouns; so that tho[2] mansiouns for lordis and ladies be ther mad and occupied for summe of these now here rehercid causis or summe othere like alloweable cause, and not for eny bad cause not worthi to be allowid.

But it may be objected, that such mansions may

If eny man wole knouleche weel here, that such now seid mansiouns or dwelling placis mowen ver-

---

[1] *foto*, MS.

[2] *persones* is interlineated in a later hand. So also *gatis* and *tho* below.

tuoseli be bildid and be occupied withinne the seid religiouns, but not with the labour and puruiaunce neither with the cost of tho religiosis; certis a3ens this[1] cauyllacioun meetith this reson: Ech vertuose doable deede is as freely doable of ech religiose man as of eny other man not religiose, but if his religioun weerne him to do thilk deede. Or ellis thus: How euer fre for to do eny vertuose deede is eny man not religiose, so fre is ech man religiose; but if his religioun ther fro weerne him. But so it is, that no religioun now had in the chirche now weerneth hise persoones forto purueie into suche bilding with the costis of the religioun and with the concent of the couent: as that this is trewe, the reulis of the same religiouns mowen be clepid into iugement. Wherfore, if it be a vertuose gouernaunce that suche lordli mansions be bildid bisidis the cloistris of the seid religiouns, it is vertuose ynou3 that persoones of the same religiouns purueie for the same bilding and at her owne cost; for bi so myche it schal be to hem the more vertuose and the more holi and the more merytorie, than it schal be if thei schulden sette tho mansiouns into the seid gode vsis and not with her owne costis, but with the costis of lordis or ladies.

well be built in monasteries, but that they should not be supported at the cost of the brethren. It may be replied, that a monk is as free to do well as any other person is, and consequently to support such buildings at his own cost, if it is well that they should be supported at all.

An other obiecciouu mi3te be mad in this mater thus: Whanne the lordis or ladies or eny of the comoun peple 3eueth eny almes to religiose couentis[2] or to eny religiose persoon into a special vce and expending of thilk 3ifte, and the couent or the persoon receyuyng the 3ifte consentith forto expende the 3ift into the same assigned vce and expending,

Again, it is further objected, that it is a misappropriation of the funds given to religious houses, to expend them on the erection or reparation of these lordly mansions,

[1] *this* is interlineated by a later hand.

[2] *cōuētis*, MS., but it is hardly likely that a writer should have used different forms of the same word in a sentence constructed as this is.

CHAP. XIII.

it is not leeful that the seid couent or religiose persoon expende the same ȝifte into eny other vce or expending, thouȝ the other vce and expending were leeful ynouȝ. But so it is, that whanne lordis and ladies and othere persoones of the louȝer comunalte ȝeuen her almes (movable or vnmovable) to religiouns receyuyng possessiouns or to religiouns of begging, thei ȝeuen thilk almes into vce and expending aboute her owne goostli and bodili necessaries perteynyng to good state of the religiouns oonli, and not into vsis and expendingis vnperteynyng to tho religiouns and to her persoones: and herwith so it is, that the vce and expending of the godis ȝouun into religioun, (mad and doon into bilding and reparing of the seid lordli mansiouns,) is not necessarili longing to the state of the religiouns, neither of the religiose persoones, in that and for that that thei ben religiose. Wherfore it semeth folewe, that tho goodis ȝouun into religiouns bi lordis and ladies and the louȝer peple ouȝten not be expendid in to bilding and reparing of suche seid lordli dwellingis.

Answer to the objection. Charters of donation and plain experienceshow that when funds or lands were given to religious bodies, discretion was left with those bodies as to what uses the gift should be applied.

Answere to this obiecciouⁿ is forto denye euereither parti of the ij^e. premysse sett in the argument or[1] the obiecciouⁿ. Forwhi sufficient record of writingis and open experience han schewid and now schewen weel, that ful ofte whanne lordis and ladies and othere peple ȝauen and now ȝeuen to religiose couentis vnmouable or mouable good, thei pointiden not into what vsis the receyuers schulden expende thilk good; but the ȝeuers trustiden that the receyuers wolden expende thilk good vertuoseli and holili, and not other wise than it bisemed. And with this trust thei helden hem content and paied in her ȝifte making, for thei wisten weel that tho religiose persoones wolden first expende aboute her religioun and aboute

[1] Probably we should read *of*.

hem silf what therto were necessarie, eer than that thei wolden eny ouerplus therof expende aboute eny other vertuose deede; and into this expending the ȝeuers weel consentiden, or at the leest weren not ther aȝens. And thus it is open, that the firste parti of the seid ij^{e}. premysse is not trewe.

Also the ij^{e}. parti of the same ij^{e}. premysse is not trewe. Forwhi the ij^{e}. and iij^{e}. causis, brouȝt in bifore in the ij^{e}. chapiter into the iustifiyng of the ij^{e}. gouernaunce, ben ful myche strecching into forthеraunce of religiouns; and therfore, thouȝ religiose persoones expende the godis ȝouun into religion aboute the bilding and reparing of the seid lordli mansiouns, thilk expensis ben mad as necessarie and profitable to the religioun; for thei ben maad into mentenaunce of the religioun and in refreynyng of the religiose persoones bi drede from yuel. And so open it is, that also[1] the ij^{e}. parti of the same ij^{e}. premysse is vntrewe. And thus bi this answere the argument or obiecciouu now bifore mad is not strong forto proue his entent.

Moreover, to spend money in the erection of such mansions, has been proved to be directly beneficial to the religions themselves in more senses than one.

As for iustifiyng of the large and wijde chirchis, whiche religiose persoones (namelich of the begging religiouns) maken; so that ther yn be not ouer greet curiosite, gaynes, preciosite, or costiousnes, sufficith and is ynouȝ this: that ther bi the more[2] multitude of persoones mowe be receyued togidere for to here theryn prechingis to be mad in reyne daies; and also that therbi in othere whilis the gretter multitudes mowen be the[2] more eesid in her deuociouns making to God, whilis thei stonden or sitten or knelen rombe fer ech from othir, and not oon such is nyȝ at an otheris cheke; and also that therbi in othere whilis the grete multitudis mowen come thider in

In vindication of the ample churches of the religious orders, more especially of the mendicants, it may be said that they admit larger congregations, and hold them more conveniently, and offer opportunities to more persons to repair thither at other times for the settling of disputes and the like, than smaller churches could do.

[1] *al so*, MS. (without hyphen, probably accidentally, but ?).

[2] *more* is interlineated in a later hand; and similarly *the* below.

CHAP. XIII.

reyne daies aftir mydday, for to counceile with her freendis and with her wise counseilers aboute making of accordis and aboute redressing of wrongis and aboute othere vertuose deedis. And so open it is, that thouȝ no mo godis schulden come therbi than these iij. now laste rehercid; certis tho ben sufficient forto proue the seid wijde and large chirchis to be alloweable and profitable, if thei be mad into these now rehercid gode effectis. And thus miche is ynow for[1] iustifiyng of the ij^e^. gouernaunce spokun in the next bifore going chapiter of this v^e^. partie.

Reply to the objection that evil comes from these stately buildings. Greater evil does not arise than is suppressed, and no evil at all arises which may not be remedied.

And thouȝ summe men wolden seie that yuel cometh bi occasioun of suche seid lordli bildingis occupied with inne the gatis of religiose monasteries, certis therto mai treuli be seid that not eny yuel, which mai not eesili be remedied, stonding al the good which bifore is rehercid to come bi the same bildingis and her occupiyngis; and not gretter yuel, than is the yuel which is excludid and lettid bi occasioun of the seid bildingis and of her occupiyngis; and therfore this obiecciouu hath no strengthe.

xiiij. CHAPITER.

Two arguments in vindication of the practice of the Franciscans in counting money with a stick. The first argument. Whenever anything is to be avoided, it is praiseworthy to avoid all familiar approaches to the same thing. Love of money is such a thing,

THE iustifiyng of the iij^e^. gouernaunce spokun bifore in the [xij^e^.][2] chapiter of this present v^e^. partie schal be in ij. causis, of whiche the firste is this: Whanne euer eny deede or thing is to be forborn or left,[3] for that it is yuel, or for that it is perilose, or for eny other good cause, it is alloweable, ȝhe, and preiseable forto forbere the neiȝing and the entermeting and the homelynes with the same thing; as whanne euere and where euer fleischli loue to a womman is

[1] *forto*, MS. (first hand).
[2] A space is left for the number.
[3] *lest*, MS.

CHAP. XIV.

and therefore to abstain from handling money is praiseworthy.

to be forborn, it is preiseable forto forbere the nyȝing and the homeli cumpeniyng with hir; and in lijk maner, for that Adam and Eue ouȝten haue forborne the eting of the appil in Paradise, it hadde be good and preiseable if thei hadden forborn the entermeting which thei maden aboute the appil in it biholding, handling, taasting, ymagynyng, and questiouns theraboute moving. But so it is, that loue to money (and namelich greet loue to money) is worthi to be forborn, as experience weel schewith, for that it is moder of passing myche yuel, and, as Poul seith, it is "the roote of al yuel,"[1] and it is "seruice of ydol-"atrie,"[2] and the touching and handling and bering of it is a greet neiȝing and entermeting and a ful greet homelines therwith making. Wherfore it folewith that it is preiseable forto forbere the bare touching and handling of money, that bi this forbering sumwhat the more the seid ouer greet loue to money be lettid forto gendre or to growe or to contynue;[3] riȝt as bi the forbering of kissing or of handling a wommannys hondis schulde sumwhat be kutt awey of the loue, which ellis schulde be had toward the same womman.

The second argument. The Franciscans, being bound by their religion to renounce the excessive love of money, are reminded of their vows by this abstinence from the bare touch of money.

The secunde cause is this: Whanne euer eny man is bounde to eny deede or gouernaunce, it is profitable him to haue sum thing forto ofte and miche remembre him into the fulfilling of thilk deede into whiche he is so bounde. But so it is, that freris of Seint Frauncessis religion ben bounde bi the religioun forto forbere the ouer miche loue[4] to money: and herwith it is trewe, that the forbering[5] of the bare touche ther of and the forbering of the pursing

[1] See 1 Tim. vi. 10.

[2] See Ephes. v. 5.

[3] *to contynue*, MS. (first hand), rightly; but a corrector has cancelled *to*.

[4] *loue* is interlineated in a later hand.

[5] *for bering*, MS. (without hyphen).

CHAP. XIV.

or bodili bering ther of is a ful greet and a bisi remembrauncing to hem, that thei ouȝten forbere and ouȝten caste awey ouer greet loue therto; and also of this forbering the touche and the bodili bering aboute cometh noon yuel. Wherfore it is alloweable, ȝhe, and preiseable this, that thei forberen[1] for euer for to touche eny money or forto bere aboute hem eny money, if thei so forberen that therbi thei wolden be remembrid thus as is bifore now seid, and as now in forme schal folewe: "Lo we han take up "on us forto forbere greet loue to money, and in "token and in signifiyng therof we han bound us "silf for to neuere touche neither bere money; lete "us therfore (as thus remembrid) make oure deede "accorde with oure bond, that we trespace not aȝens "oure bond."

But it may be objected, that they ought with equal reason to abstain from counting it with a stick, and from handling precious jewels and plate.

Perauenture aȝens the iustifiyng now mad for the iij[c]. gouernaunce summe men wolen obiecte and chalenge thus: If freris of Frauncessis religioun forbering handling and bering of money, for that this handeling and bering ben neiȝingis and homeli entermetingis with money, and for that thilk forbering schal make in hem a remembraunce that thei ouȝten not loue money ouer myche; whi forberen not thei telling of money with a stikkis eende, sithen this telling is a nyȝ and a ful homely entermeting with the same money, and the forbering of such telling myȝte make in hem lijk remembrance as the forbering of handling schulde make? Also sithen iewelis of gold and of silver and of preciose stoonys and knyfis and girdelis harneisid with gold and siluer and suche othere araies ouȝten not be loued of hem ouer myche, whi forberen not thei to touche in handling and the bering upon hem of suche now seid iewelis and knyfis harneisid with siluer and gold?

[1] *for beren*, MS. (without hyphen).

CHAP. XIV.

Answer to both parts of this objection. To count money with a stick is a less familiarity with it than to handle it; and there is not so much danger in familiarity with jewels as in familiarity with money. Moreover, even if this were not the case, it does not follow, that if a man, for the sake of devotion, abstain from one thing, he should therefore abstain from another, when he is not obliged to abstain from either.

To the firste of thes now mad obiecciouns and chalengis y may answere thus: For to handle or bere money is a more homely entermeting with the same money, than is forto telle it with a stik; and therfore the more homelynes is forborn, and the lasse homelynes is suffrid. To the ij^e. obiecciouns and chalenge y mai answere thus: Iewelis ben not in so manye kindis so redy and so niȝe to the vce in which the hauer mai delite him synfulli, as is money. Forwhi the hauer of iewelis may not delite him silf with iewelis fleischli neither worldli except veinglorioseli,[1] eer than he haue turnede or chaungid the iewelis into money; and so into ful many synful vsis the money is nyȝer and redier than ben iewelis; and therfore the more perel is forborn, whilis the lasse is suffrid to abide. And thouȝ it were so, that the telling of money with a stik were as greet a neiȝing in homelynes to money as is bare handling, and thouȝ the handling of iewelis were as perilose as is the handling of money; ȝit ther of not folewith, that if eny man for deuocioun wolde forbere the oon, that therfore he ouȝte forbere the other; neither it were chalengeable, if he wolde forbere the oon and wolde not forbere the other. Forwhi it is fair, good, and preisable to forbere the oon, whilis he is not constreyned to forbere of hem bothe eny oon; and it is preisable him to binde him silf in to the forbering of the oon, whilis othere men bynden not hem silf to of the same bothe eny oon. And in lijk maner y seie, thouȝ the forbering of mony tellyng with a stik were as good a remembrauncing meene in to the bifore seid effect, as is the forbering of money tellyng with bare hond; and thouȝ the forbering of iewelis touching were as good a remembring meene into the

[1] *vein glorioseli*, MS.

CHAP. XIV.

bifore seid effect, as is the forbering of money touching; ȝit therof folewith not, that who euer chesith to take oon of these forberingis, that he schulde take ther with the other of hem, neither he is worthi be[1] chalengid, which takith the oon and not takith bothe. Forwhi whanne a man is fre to leue bothe, it is preseable[2] and fair and honest, if he take the oon and not bothe; and nameliche sithen fewe othere taken eny of hem bothe. And thus y answere to the ij. now bifore going obieccioun or chalengis.

Confirmation of the argument by examples, and by an imaginary conversation between a Franciscan and his opponent.

Confirmaciouns to this answere mowen be mad ful weel bi ensaumplis thus: If a man wole for a iust cause faste ech Friday in the ȝeer as bi boond and not as bi fre deuocioun oonli, were this a iust chalenge therazens for to seie thus, "Whi fastith not "he ther with also bi boond the Saturday or the "Wednesday?" And if he wolde forbere fisch and mylky mete in ech Friday in the Lente, were this a iust chalenge ther azens for to seie thus, "Whi for- "berith he not ther with fisch and mylki mete also "in ech Wednesday of the Lente?" Open ynow it is, that these chalengis weren not resonable. For bettir it is forto do oon good of the tweyne, into of whiche neuer neither he is bounde, than forto leue of hem the euereither vndoon. Ferthermore if eny man wolde chalenge a frere of Seint Frauncessis ordre, and seie to him thus, "Frere, thou louest money as myche "as othere men[3] louen, and more than othere men "louen; for ellis thou woldist not so bisili begge "for to haue it: whi wolt not thou thanne handle "money as othere men handlen?" the frere myȝte weel answer thus, "Sir, if y loue money more than "othere men louen, and more than y schulde loue;

[1] *to be*, MS. (first hand).

[2] Perhaps a clerical error for *preisable*.

[3] *men* is added in the margin by a later hand.

" ȝit if ne were this forbering fro touche of money,
" y schulde loue money more than y loue now; and
" therfore this forbering fro touche is not in vein.
" Also this forbering and abstinence of handling
" money is a meene for to make me loue it lasse
" than y now do; and therfore also this abstinence
" or forbering is not in waast and in vein." And
if the chalenger wole contynue in his chalenging and
seie thus, " It is better and more toward perfec-
" cioun for to not loue the money ouer myche, than
" forto absteyne fro touching it:" the frere myȝte
graunte it weel, and myȝte seie setting therto this,
" And for that the forbering of handling money is a
" good meene into the abstinence of louyng it, therfore
" y absteyne fro handling it; for that y wolde therbi
" come the sooner into the not louyng of it as into
" the better good, than is the not handling of it."
And ȝit if[1] the chalenger wolde stryue ferther and
seie thus, " Frere, it is bettir and neerer to perfec-
" cioun forto not loue money ouer myche and handle
" it, than forto not loue money and not handle it;
" and sithen the gretter perfeccioun or the thing
" neerer to perfeccioun is to be chosun, rather than
" the lasse perfeccioun or the thing romber fro per-
" feccioun, thou schuldist rather sette thee forto
" not loue money with the handling of money, than
" for to sette thee and wone thee to not loue money
" with the not handling of money:" herto the frere
myȝte answere thus, " Sir, y knouleche weel that it
" is better and hiȝer gode and holynes forto not
" loue money with touching it, than to not loue
" money with the not touching of it; but aȝenward
" to freel men, whiche han not ȝit gete the fulnes of
' perfeccioun, it is surer to not loue money with not

[1] *if* is added in the margin by a later hand.

CHAP. XIV.

" touching it, than to not loue it with touching of " it. And therfore to me, (as man freel bi kinde and " not hardi for to feele of my silf that y am in the " fulnes of perfeccioun,) it is surer for to chese this " parti which is for to not loue money with the not " handling of it, than for to not loue money with the " handling of it. And whanne ȝe seien ferther thus, " that the more good and the perfiȝter good and the " hiȝer good and the neerer good to perfeccioun is " alwey of ech man to be chose and executid bifore " other lasse good and romber good fro perfeccioun, " certis this is not trewe; for thouȝ ech man ouȝte " loue and desire such now seid gretter good bifore " the lasse good, ȝit not ech man ouȝte chese forto " do and execute such more good bifore the lasse " gode, but perfit men at fulle[1] mowen so chese and " ouȝten so chese, and vnperfit men cumbrid in her " freelnes and in her passiouns ouȝten chese ful ofte " the sikerer and surer good to hem bifore the vn- " surer good; thouȝ thilk surer good be lasse good " in it silf or to a perfit man, than is thilk vnsurer " good." And this is ynouȝ for answere to the laste now maad chalenge.

Moreover, this will ever be found true, that it is more or less self-denial to a man to abstain from the touch of money; and this self-denial, undertaken from love to God, will receive its reward, as will all other acts of self-denial.

And ferthermore forto seie fynali as here in this mater: What euer eny man chalenge or obiecte aȝens this now seid forbering of moneyes touching, this wole euer be founde trewe, that it is peyne lasse or more to ech man so forbering[2] as ofte as he so forberith, and forto take such a peyne so ofte comyng and that for Goddis[3] loue and into amendis making for synne, (namelich whilis thilk same absteynyng in peyne is a meene into geting of a moral good, which ellis schulde not be had or not so miche had,) it

---

[1] *the fulle*, MS. (first hand).
[2] *bering*, MS. (first hand).
[3] *forgoddis*, MS. (perhaps by mere accident; but ?).

muste nedis folewe, what euer be seid ther aȝens, that at the leest thilk abstinence or forbering is a merytorie deede and a deseruyng to haue therbi grace and sum forȝeuenes of synne, as othere abstinencis ben merytorie and deseruyng to haue grace and sum forȝeuenes of synne, as is abstinence in sum day[1] fro fisch, or abstinence in sum day[1] fro mylky mete, or abstinence in sum day[1] fro pley, and abstinence in sum day[1] fro siȝt taking of sum delectable thing. And this same withoute more were ynouȝ forto excuse fro waast or fro ypocrisie the seid forbering of monyes handling. CHAP. XIV.

XV. CHAPITER.

THE vij^e^. principal gouernance aȝens which summe of the lay peple erren is this: That the preestis and othere clerkis preien to God and to Seintis, and thei so preien bothe for hem silf and for her neiȝboris; and thei graunten to summe othere persoones forto be partyners in sum kinde of her preiers, and of her abstinencis, of her wacchis, and of her othere gode deedis and suffrauncis. This now seid gouernaunce summe of the lay peple blamen vnwijsly, seiyng and holding that it is waast and vein forto preie to God, whilis he knowith ech mannys hertis desijr and ech mannys nede; also that it is waast and veyn forto preie to eny Seint, whilis God loueth us more than eny Seint loueth us. And, as it myȝte seme, thei holden that no man may take an other man so into his nyȝ frendschip, that therbi the other man schal fare the better bi this mannys fasting, waking, and hise othere gode deedis; but ech man schal fare weel goostli oonli bi hise owne gode deedis. Aȝens which

A brief enumeration of the remaining five principal points against which the Lollards object. THE SEVENTH POINT. The invocation of saints and the intercessions offered by priests for particular persons. This matter is discussed in Pecock's treatises *On the filling of the four tables*, and *On Christian religion*.

[1] In all the above instances the MS. has *sūday* (conjunctim).

CHAP. XV.

now rehercid vnwijs blamyng to be reproued and improued (that is to seie, to be proued vntrewe,) it is sufficientli tretid in *The book filling the iiij. tablis* in ther of the firste parti; and also aȝens sum therof it is notabili procedid in the firste partie of *Cristen religioun,* the secunde treti, the [1] chapiter. And therfore that y be not ouer long in this present book, y speke not of thilk mater in special here; lest that for lengthe which this present book schulde haue, if alle the xj. gouernauncis weren here yn tretid in special maner, the mo of the comoun peple myȝten the wors avorthi in cost of mony forto gete to hem this present book.

THE EIGHTH PRINCIPAL POINT. In the church is used a great variety of costly ornaments, as bells, banners, &c., which are useless and wasteful, and relics are also worshipped with a superstitious or idolatrous veneration.

The viij[e]. principal gouernaunce, for which[2] summe of the lay peple reprouen, vndirnemen, and blamen vnwijsly the clergie is this: In the bodili chirche ben had and vsid signes of greet curiosite, preciosite, and cost; and in greet multitude and dyuersite, as bellis, baners, and suche othere, not being the grete sacramentis; whiche myȝten be solde and be delid to poor men or be sett into othere vsis better, than to so be had and vsid in the bodili chirche; and also this, that ymagis and crossis ben lowtid of men, and the feet of ymagis and of crossis and of relikis ben kissid of men, and to tho ymagis, crossis, and relikis it is offrid, or ellis bifore hem offrid, and toward hem ben maad longe pilgrimagis in greet cost, wherbi, (as these blamers seien,) ydolatrie is doon, sithen thilk lowting which is to be ȝouun oonli to God is ȝouun ther yn to creaturis, that is to seie, to ymagis and to crossis and to relikis. Wherfore alle the now rehercid thingis and deedis schulden be not had and vsid in the bodili chirche of Cristen peple.

[1] A space is left in the MS. for the number.

[2] *forwhich,* MS.

CHAP. XV.

Azens this now rehercid chalenging, vndirnemyng, and blamying, that he is[1] vniustli and vntreuli mad, serueth ful weel and sufficientli *The book of worschiping* in large lengthe, as nede of the mater so askith; and therfore who wole se how this here rehercid blamyng and chalenging is defauti and vniust, and how treuthe hath him silf in the mater of signes vsid, not being the grete sacramentis, go he into *The* (now named) *book of worschiping*, (for he is ouer greet for to be ingraffid here,) and go he in to the firste parti of *Cristen religioun*, the treti, the chapiter, and into the treti, the [2] chapiter; and with Goddis grace he schal be fillid there with ful fair instruccioun perteynyng to the maters of this now touchid purpos.

The book of worshiping, and Of Christian religion.

The ix^e^. principal gouernaunce for which summe of the lay peple vnwijsly and vnreuerentli blamen the clergie is this: That in the chirche ben had grete signes and sacramentis, and her vsis; as ben baptem, confermyng, hosil of Cristis bodi and blood, and othere mo; whiche sacramentis and her vsis summe of the lay peple holden to be pointis of wicche craft and blindingis, brouȝt into Cristen men bi the feend and the anticrist and hise lymes. And in special thei abhorren aboue alle othere the hiȝest and worthiest signe and sacrament of alle othere, the sacrament of the auter, the preciose bodi and blood of Crist for us hangid in the cros and for us out sched; in so miche that thei not oonli scornen it, but thei haaten it, mys callen it bi foule names, and wolen not come her thankis into the bodili chirche, whilis thilk sacrament is halewid, tretid, and vsid in the masse.

THE NINTH POINT. The sacraments of the church, and especially the sacrament of the altar, are superstitious and antichristian.

[1] *is* is interlineated in a later hand. | [2] Spaces are left for the numbers.

CHAP. XV.

Full vindication of the things thus calumniated is to be found in various works of Pecock.

Aȝens this now rehercid mys bering of tho men and aȝens this her foul faring with hem silf and her vniust bering an hond is maad a book bi him silf clepid *The book of feith* and an other *Of sacramentis;* and also ij. othere bokis, of whiche oon is clepid *The book of baptym,* the other *The book of eukarist,* in which book sufficientli and cleerli al this now rehercid foule and mys bering and vniust chalenging and blamyng is reproued and vnproued. And therfore, sithen so long a werk is seid and doon there, it is no nede forto seie ther of eny thing vnperfitli and vnfully and therfore vnsauorili here; lest perauenture for the lak and the noun hauyng at hond here of al that ouȝte be seid to gidere for strengthing of the treuthe, enemyes myȝten and wolden take colour that her parti is not so miche confoundid as it is, and that the contrarie partie to hem is not so weel proued as it is.

THE TENTH PRINCIPAL POINT. The clergy take and allow of oaths, which are utterly unlawful in all cases. The lawfulness of oaths proved in Pecock's *Filling of the four tables.*

The x^e^. principal gouernaunce aȝens which summe of the comoun peple erren is this: That the clergie in certein causis and maters swerith and makith othere persoones forto swere, and allowith weel that princis and her officers being vndir hem bothe swere and make othere men of the layfe forto swere. Certis summe of the lay peple holden this gouernaunce to be vnleeful, and aȝens the comaundement of God; and that it is vttirli vnleeful eny man forto swere. Neuertheles for as miche as this vnwijs holding is sufficientli proued to be vntrewe in *The book filling the iiij. tablis,* in the secunde parti, bi manye chapitris, therfore no thing therof here.

THE ELEVENTH AND LAST POINT. The clergy wickedly allow and approve of war and of capital punishment to be inflicted by laymen under certain circumstances. Vindi-

The xj^e^. principal gouernaunce, aȝens which summe of the lay peple erren, is vsid in the lay partie and not in the clergie and is this: That men for her trespacis ben doon into her deeth. For summe of the lay partie holden that no man schulde be slein of eny other man for eny trespace, cause, or

perel; but al slauȝter vpon man is reserued to God. And also thei holden that in no wise and in no caas bateil is leeful, neither bitwixe Cristen and Cristen, neither bitwixe Cristen and hethen. And thei blamen the clergie in this, that the clergie allowith and approueth these gouernauncis to be doon bi the layfe. But for as myche as aȝens al this blamyng of the xj^e^. principal gouernaunce it is procedid in othere placis of my writingis, as in the book clepid *The filling of the iiij. tablis,* in therof the iiij^e^. partie, therfore it is no needе for to make this book here therbi eny ouer greet bolk more than nede is.

CHAP. XV.

cation of these matters to be found in Pecock's *Filling of the four tables.*

And thus y eende this present book clepid *The represser of ouer myche blamyng the clergie.* For which[1] book, to thee, Lord God, be preising and thanking; and to alle the seid ouer myche vndirnemers and blamers ful amendement. Amen.

The conclusion. Laus Deo.

[1] *Forwhich,* MS.

EXCERPTS

FROM

JOHN BURY'S ANSWER TO PECOCK'S REPRESSOR,

ENTITLED

GLADIUS SALOMONIS.

Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. n. 108. (formerly 1960), 4to. ff. 63. sec. xv.

Table of Contents.

Capitula sequentis operis, quæ scriberentur post epistolam.

1. Continet primam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Quod non est officium Sacræ Scripturæ fundare regimina, actus, leges, et veritates quæ natura vel ratio adinvenire potest.

2. Continet primam conclusionem Auctoris, conclusioni primæ Reginaldi contrariam, cum solutione argumentorum suorum.

3. Continet secundam probationem pro conclusione Reginaldi.

4. Continet improbationem et solutionem dictæ secundæ probationis.

5. Continet tertiam probationem pro conclusione Reginaldi.

6. Continet improbationem et solutionem ejus.

7. Continet quartam probationem pro conclusione Reginaldi.

8. Continet improbationem et solutionem ejus.

9. Continet quintam probationem pro conclusione ejus.

10. Continet improbationem et solutionem ejus.

11. Continet sextam probationem pro conclusione Reginaldi.

12. Continet improbationem et solutionem ejus.

13. Continet unum corollarium primæ conclusionis Reginaldi.

14. Continet impugnationem ejusdem corollarii, et solutionem ejus.

15. Continet tria exempla pro conclusione Reginaldi.

16. Continet primum exemplum pro conclusione Auctoris.

17. Continet secundum exemplum pro conclusione eadem.

18. Continet tertium exemplum pro eadem.

19. Continet secundam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Quamvis non pertineat Sacræ Scripturæ fundare dicta moralia, regimina, [&c.], nihil obstat, quin possit ea recitare.

20. Continet secundam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Quamvis Sancta Scriptura fundet moralia quæ dicta sunt, humano tamen more ratio naturalis hæc ipsa recitare potest.

21. Continet tertiam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Integrum officium et opus Sanctæ Scripturæ est fundare articulos fidei et recitare virtutes morales.

22. Continet tertiam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Proprium et speciale officium est Sacræ Scripturæ mores viatorum[1] reddere deiformes, et respondet Reginaldo.

23. Continet quartam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Non est officium moralis legis naturæ fundare aliquem articulum fidei.

24. Continet quartam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Non est officium moralis legis naturæ fundare

[1] *i.e. of pilgrims*, used for Christians generally. See Ducange, s. v.

aliquem articulum fidei. Ibi etiam probatur contra Reginaldum, quod lex naturæ et moralis philosophia non sunt idem.

25. Continet quintam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Quamvis neque lex rationis, neque exterior scriptura moralis [philosophiæ] possit fundare fidem, nihilominus libri catholicorum possunt articulos fidei recitare in Sancta Scriptura fundatos.

26. Continet quintam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Nihil obviat quin articuli fidei in lege naturæ philosophiaque morali recitari valeant.

27. Continet sextam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Officium est philosophiæ catholicæ exprimere veritates fundatas in lege naturæ et quasdam veritates fidei.

28. Continet sextam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Philosophia catholica homines Deo in moribus assimilat, et solutionem Reginaldi.

29. Continet septimam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Major pars divinæ legis non fundatur in Scriptura.

30. Continet septimam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Nulla pars divinæ legis Scripturæ fundamento caret.

31. Continet octavam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Nullus potest scire sufficienter legem Dei, nisi prius philosophiam moralem intellexerit.

32. Continet octavam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Aliquis potest scire totam legem Dei, etsi moralem philosophiam adquisitam nesciat.

33. Continet nonam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Nullus potest sufficienter intelligere Sacram Scripturam ubi de virtutibus moralibus agit, nisi prius in philosophia morali instruatur.

34. Continet nonam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Aliquis potest intelligere Sacram Scripturam ubi de virtutibus moralibus agit, quanquam philosophiam adquisitam nesciat.

35. Continet decimam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Nullus absque philosophia morali utiliter Deo servire potest.

36. Continet decimam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Absque philosophia morali adquisita quis potest servire Deo.

37. Continet undecimam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Laïci tenentur magnificare doctos in philosophia.

38. Continet duodecimam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Laïci tenentur magnificare libros compositos in lingua eorum materna, et præsertim libros quos idem Reginaldus edidit.

39. Continet undecimam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Illiterati tenentur magnificare servos Dei per quos certissimas leges vivendi didicerunt.

40. Continet duodecimam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Quod illiterati viri summe detestarentur libros Reginaldi.

41. Continet tertiam decimam conclusionem Reginaldi, scilicet, Irrationabiliter quæritur ubi aliqua doctrina morum in Sancta Scriptura fundatur.

42. Continet tertiam decimam conclusionem Auctoris, scilicet, Quod non irrationabiliter quæritur ubi omnis doctrina morum fundatur in Scriptura.

BURY'S EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO ARCHBISHOP BOURCHIER.

Bury entreats Bourchier to accept the work, which he had himself urged him to write.

Venerabili in Christo patri ac domino, Domino Thomæ Dei gratia Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo,[1] totius Angliæ Primati, Ordinisque Fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini in Anglia benignissimo conservatori, pauper ille filius suus ejusdem ordinis et provinciæ provincialis frater Johannes Bury, tantæ insignia reverentiæ, et a luporum morsibus gregem defendere Christi.

Bury designs to go to the root of Pecock's errors, and to show the blasphemous tendency of his rationalistic scheme, which exalts reason above Scripture.

Sæpe vobis ovilique vestro nova discrimina, clementissime patrum, nefandus ille Reginaldus Pecokke intulisse visus est. Laudes Deo! Cum peccatoribus super ecclesiæ dorsum fabricavit, nec prævaluit! Et-enim datum est ei exercitium, non exterminium facere. Exacuit calamos, libellos pinxit, grandia etiam tonavit in cœlum usque; sed tandem inter miseræ Babylonis colonos juste compertus est. Sacræ fidei neophytos veterana hujus forsan laus in ecclesia Dei corrupisset, si sanctorum canes altarium, micis cœlestis mensæ depasti, (quibus, ut Orosius ait in prologo *Ormestæ Mundi*, extraneos insequi mos est, non quia velut hostes oderint, sed quod zelent dominos suos), silenti adversus eum tacuissent[2] ore. Inter quos et me pusillulum vestra dominatio irritandum duxit, ne ceteris latrantibus solus perfide desidiæ reus arguerer. Intuens ergo librum ejus, quem *Repressorem* vocat, non singulas hæreses discutere, non errorum quæ in

[1] Bourgchier, MS. marginal note. | [2] *tabuissent*, MS.

eo multa sunt annotare vestigia curavi, sed ad totius (ut arbitror) sui mali radicem, ubi rationis humanæ titulos in morum directione Scripturis Sanctis præfert, exquisiti studii libuit mittere securim. Quæ penes eum sacramentorum blasphemia, quæ divinorum mandatorum corruptio, quæ dispersio[1] petitionum, quis donorum contemptus, quæ credendorum articulorum confusio, sapiens iste aut ille, prout talentum accepit, videat. Mihi autem minimo o si daret Omnipotens solam Scripturarum injuriam posse vindicare et earum promissam patribus veritatem citra Jordanem rationis a longe contemplari! Progrediar tamen aliquatenus[2] accinctus, et particeps ero ex industria tanta bellantium. Securius enim animalis homo cum suis pecoribus moram habet, naturalis rationis intendens gregi, ubi divinos mores cultusque aptis sedibus collocasse studuit. Hoc in agone mecum certasse putaverim omnes, quotquot laureatos Scripturarum titulos asportarunt. Si enim "tractent fabrilia fabri," theologorum erit tantæ patronum nequitiæ, tantæ præsumptionis Sathanam, digna lacessere calumnia. Non dixisse verum quidem, fallacemque impugnatorem vicisse, paris meriti est. Nec tamen opusculum meum, quod *Gladius Salomonis* appellari potest, eo quod matrem virtutis non litigiosam rationem, sed pietatis Scripturam esse confirmet, vestris excidat manibus, o pater optime et felix pastor, quoadusque ejus parvuli sermones ad petram collidantur.

Praise of Bishop Lowe's learning and orthodoxy, and hope expressed that he

Adest utique vobis ille reverendus in Christo dominus meus,[3] Dominus Roffensis, stabilis columna in templo Domini, vir Benjamin, vir geminus[4] ab ado-

---

[1] *dispertio*, MS., but perhaps *despectio* may be the true reading.

[2] *aliquotiens*, MS.

[3] 'Frater Johannes Lowe,' MS. note.

[4] *viri gemini*, MS. Lewis (*Life of Pecock*, p. 13) wrongly reads *genuinus*, from this MS. See p. 274. *Geminus* is used for *ambidexter*; see Judg. xx. 16.

lescentia sua, utraque manu ut dextra utens, qui nec sic institit Scripturis, ut humanitatis in se studia aliquando vacasse credantur, nec sic humanas litteras amplexatus est, quin semper eas divinis coëgerit subservire. Dum enim vobis turbulentissimi nostri regni atra perstrepunt negotia, quibus propitio Deo optanda proveniat tranquillitas, severus hic clemensque corrigat, interserat, aut dilaniet judex, et conflet quasi aurum et argentum. Nec parcat quidem; parcet, inquam, sicut olim Augustinus ad Hieronymum scribere solitus est, si errantem me non reprehenderit. Fortassis arguet tantus pater quod in bove simul araverim et asino, et quod vestem contexerim ex lana linoque. Ad quod ego, Ne judaizare videar, Judæorum maledicta contemptui, sacramenta mihi neglectui sunt.

may not disdain to revise and correct Bury's work, if there are any errors in it. Anticipation of an objection that his book is an incongruous medley of English and Latin.

Est et aliud quod Reginaldum in suo vulgari scribentem me compulit introducere. Mussitatores enim sui ubique ferme theologos et juristas nostros incusant quod scilicet perverse interpretentur, quæ in dicto Reginaldo non nisi rectissime denunciant exarata. Hac re cautior effectus non verbum e verbo transtuli, sed velut exemplaria probant, quæ propriis annotavit digitis,[1] Anglicanam, prout ipse conscripsit linguam, eloquio litterarum[2] Latino immiscere volui. Sic nempe respondi "imprudenti viro juxta stultitiam "suam," ne sibi sapiens esse videatur. Nec tamen materna, qua usus est voce, studui respondere, ne sibi censerer esse consimilis.

Reasons for quoting Pecock's arguments in his own words and language.

Dividetur autem hoc opus in duos libros; primus, quandam disputationis formam induens, mores eos, ut dixi, quibus Deo vivitur, e Scripturarum Sanctarum visceribus ostendet exortos, simulque dudum formosam

Summary of Bury's first book of the *Gladius Salomonis*. Scripture and not reason is the true mother of

---

[1] This is a very important remark, which makes it highly probable that the great mass of the corrections in the Cambridge MS. are in the hand of Reginald Pecock himself. See p. 264, *sqq.*

[2] *litteratorum*, MS.

the living and divine morality.

rationis prolem, dum ignorantiæ somno mater langueret oppressa, morticinam reperiri.

Summary of the second book. Pecock's arguments for reason, the pretended mother, are null and void.

Secundus liber, a nostri adversarii inchoans *Repressore*, per singulos ejus qui occurrerint libros, quicquid singillatim iste pro parte conduxerit dormitantis rationis, nihil ad rem agere; sed infantem vivum, felicem scilicet morum vitam, pro quo contentio est, hic aut ibi per Scripturas prodiisse monstrabit.

Thus shall Pecock's work be condemned and executed by Solomon's sword.

In primo libro per gladium Salomonis, qui verbum Dei est, litigii dabitur sententia. In secundo latæ sententiæ erit executio.

The first book now published; the second shall soon follow.

Primum semper corrigendus admonendusque tantæ paternitatis offero reverentiis. Secundus, duce Deo, postveniet, si Salomon meus, si dominus meus et pater, cujus est in gladio Spiritus fidem tueri catholicam, cum benedictione sancta libellos adversarii mihi manifestare dignetur. Feliciter militet Christo Jesu athleta judexque credentium serenus Thomas et[1] pontifex, accinctus gladio super femur potentissime. Amen.

[1] Probably *et* should be cancelled.

EXCERPTS FROM BURY'S GLADIUS SALOMONIS.

Cap. I.

Pecock's first conclusion against the authority of Scripture cited in his own words.

The ferste conclusioun of Reynold Pecokke in hys book namyd *The Repressour* laboryng effectually ayens the liberte of Holy Scripture ys this: It longyth not to Holy Scripture, neither it is [his] part, for to grounde ony gouernaunce, or dede or seruyse of God, or any lawe of God, or ony trovthe whiche mannys resoone be nature may fynde, lerne, or knowe. This conclusyoun he provith thus: Euery fundament shewith sufficyently by him selfe[1] for that thing to whom it is fundament; but Holy Scripture only shewith not this, for swiche lawes, vertues, and gouernaunces wyche mannys resoon may fynde.

His examples in favour of the conclusion similarly cited.

Wherefore Holy Scripture is not to swiche a suffycient fundament. Example of this: My place ys fovnded here and not in anothir place, for if it were in anothir stode, it shulde not be here. And in lyke maneere, if this trouthe and gouernaunce, that eche man shuld kepe mekenesse, were knowe be summe othir thyng than be Scripture, and as weel and as suffyciently as be Scripture, thilke gouernaunce or vertue were not grounded yn Holy Scripture. Also thus, ther may no thyng be fundament of a walle, or of a tre, or of an hovs, saf that up on wyche alle the hool substaunce of the wal, of the tre, or of the hovse stondethe, and ought of wiche oonly the wal, hovs, or tre cometh. Wherfore be lyke skele no thing is grovnd or fundament to ony vertu, or conclusyoun, gouernaunce, or trovthe, saf that up on

[1] *the self*, MS.

whiche alon alle the gouernaunce, trovthe, or dede stondithe, and oughte of which alon alle the same trovthe and gouernaunce comethe.

His reason for the conclusion similarly cited.

And that doom of resoon dothe so, I prove thus: What euere thing doom of resoone doothe as fully and as parfithely as Holy Scripture it dooth, Holy Scripture it doth not alone; but so it is, that what so euere lernyng Holy Scripture yevethe vp on ony of the seid gouernaunces, trovthis, and vertues of Goddys lawe, into whos fyndyng, lernyng, and kunnyng, mannys resoon may come, mannys resoone may and kan yeve the same kunnyng, as experience shewith. Wherfore Holy Scripture is not ground to hem.[1]

Cap. II.

Thirteen catholic conclusions shall be made against Pecock's thirteen heretical conclusions contained in the first book of his *Repressor*.

Cum nuper ille Reginaldus Pecokke Cicestriensis directionem et gubernationem morum humanorum a Scripturis Sanctis diripiens, humanæ rationis tribueret judicio, tredecim conclusiones ad hujusmodi erroris probationem in *Repressore* suo adducit; nos autem, duce Deo, catholica veritate subnixi æquali conclusionum numero adversus eum disputabimus:

Bury's first conclusion. It is the office of Scripture to found ordinances, truths, and laws of divine service, even although they may be discovered by the light of natural reason. Reason of the conclusion.

Contra primam ejus conclusionem nostra prima hæc conclusio statuitur: Convenit Sacræ Scripturæ, eique a Deo speciale deputatum est officium fundandi, scilicet, regimina, actus, leges, veritates, et obsequia divina, etiam quæ humana ratio naturalis de se adinvenire et edocere potest. Pro hac conclusione sic arguitur: Illius scientiæ proprium officium est fundare

[1] Compare with this pp. 10–12 of this edition, from which it will plainly appear that little use can be safely made of such loose quotations as these of Bury's for settling the text of Pecock's work.

omnem gubernationem et actum dirigentes homines in obsequium Dei, quæ a Deo sufficienter ad hoc ordinata est, et ab eo nomen accepit; sicut grammatica fundat omnem congruitatem, quia doctrinam totius congruitatis continet et ab ea nomen accepit. Sed Scriptura Sancta, quæ theologia dicitur, sufficienter per Deum ordinata est ad gubernationes et omnes actus hominum dirigendos in ipsum, nomenque ab eo accepit. Ergo hujusmodi actuum et gubernationum sive regiminum fundatio, quanquam aliunde per naturalem rationem inveniri valeant, ipsius erit Scripturæ Sanctæ proprium, speciale, et primum ei deputatum officium. Nempe theologia sermo de Deo dicitur.

God ordained Scripture for this very end, and that sufficiently.

Quod autem in ea mores hominum sufficienter edoceantur, ex illo patet, Eccles. xii., ubi Salomon aiebat: *Verba sapientum*, (ait,) *quasi stimuli et quasi clavi in altum defixi, quæ per magistrorum concilium data sunt a pastore uno. His amplius, fili mi, ne requiras.* Si enim supra sapientum verba, quæ a pastore uno illo data sunt, (de quo Paulus [Heb. i.]: *Multifarie multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis, novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio,*) nihil amplius quærendum est, ergo hæc verba sapientum ab ipso pastore data ad directionem hominum ordinata sufficiunt. Sufficit[1] quidem scientiæ fundanti conclusiones principia manifestare, per quæ singulæ conclusiones possunt deduci contentæ in eadem, et si numerum earum singillatim non tradat. Descendentibus a generalissimis ad specialissima jubet Plato quiescere, inquit Porphyrius;[2] principia autem omnium actuum dirigentium homines in Deum aut sunt virtutes naturales perficientes homines modo humano; aut supernaturales, ut dona et virtutes, quæ theologicæ, et

Proof of this from Scripture and from a consideration of the contents of Scripture.

---

[1] *sufficiunt*, MS.

[2] Μέχρι τῶν εἰδικωτάτων ἀπὸ τῶν γενικωτάτων κατιόντας παρεκελεύετο ὁ Πλάτων παύεσθαι. Porphyr. *Isag.* c. 2. § 35 (int. Aristot. Op. p. 452. Ed. Weise.)

quæ infusæ dicuntur eosdem perficientes modo divino. Sufficienter autem de utroque genere virtutum per quædam specialia principia in Veteri et Novo Testamento traditur, in Deuteronomio scilicet, in libris Salomonis, in Evangelio, et Epistolis Canonicis; quare sufficienter in Sacra Scriptura omnium actuum dirigibilium in Deum sufficiens fundatio reperitur.

Pecock's first conclusion is consequently false.

Conclusio ergo adversarii Scripturarum neganda est, scilicet quod non pertineat Sacræ Scripturæ neque ejus pars est fundare gubernationem aliquam actumve aut obsequium divinum seu legem Dei quamcunque aut veritatem, quam scilicet humana ratio per naturam invenire, addiscere, aut cognoscere valet.

His argument that Scripture is not a sufficient foundation of morals is invalid, and his illustration drawn from the foundation of a house is irrelevant.

Ubi autem sic arguit: Omne fundamentum ostendit sufficienter pro eo, cujus est fundamentum; sed Sacra Scriptura non ostendit sufficienter pro dictis gubernationibus, actibus, veritatibus, &c.; ergo Sacra Scriptura eis non est sufficiens fundamentum: dicendum est quod minor hujus primæ probationis suæ falsa sit, eo quod Scriptura Sancta de se sufficienter ostendit naturam omnis regiminis, veritatis, et virtutis, dirigentium homines in Deum. Ad exemplum ubi sic habet: Domus mea sic hic fundata est, quod non alibi fundari potest; nam si alibi, ergo non hic: a pari, si virtus humilitatis aliunde et æque sufficienter cognita esset sicut per Scripturam ipsam, humilitas non diceretur fundari in Sacra Scriptura: dupliciter respondetur primo quod incongrue sumptum est, secundo quod ejus applicatio frivola et vana judicatur. Longe quidem aliter de fundatione domuum et scientiarum fundatione disserendum est. Nam fundatio scientiarum rationis est, altera vero rei sive loci dicitur. Una autem res corporalis nullatenus in diversis locis fundabitur. Res considerationis vero et rationis totiens aliud et aliud respicit fundamentum, quotiens circa diversos modos sciendi admittit alterationem. Exemplum: Corpus mobile visibile et resuscitandum post

mortem quamvis secundum corpulentam substantiam res una sit, nil obstat quin secundum considerationem ad alterius et alterius scientiæ fundationem pertineat. Eo[1] enim quod corpus in geometria, eo quod mobile in philosophia naturali, eo quod visibile in perspectiva et in eo quod resuscitandum in theologia fundabitur. Res ergo eadem scilicet in diversis fundatur scientiis; dum tamen diversarum scientiarum sibi formales modi conveniant.

Morals are founded in Scripture and in philosophy, but in different ways.

Unde cum philosophia moralis humanis de moribus agat, de vitiis, de virtutibus, (de ordinatione scilicet et de deordinatione hominis in Deum,) modo tamen imperfecto et humano; de eisdemque moribus primo in Sacra Scriptura sumantur evidentiæ certissimæ, quemadmodum septima nostra declarabit conclusio; regimina actusque vitæ moralis utrobique fundabuntur, sed non eodem modo. Evidet hoc ipsum, si navalis scientiæ et astrologicæ consideremus terminos.

An illustration drawn from astronomy and nautical science.

Astrologia cursus siderum subtili indagine, quos etiam navalis ignobili quodam et rudi scrutinio metitur. Motus igitur siderum, facies et aspectus astrorum ad utrumque referuntur. Et sicut de motibus astrorum et navalis et astronomia agunt, ita de humilitate et aliis virtutibus Sacra Scriptura et philosophia moralis humana pertractant. Idcirco etiam addidi "humana," ob differentiam ipsius perfectæ philosophiæ moralis quæ in sacris literis continetur et proprie "divina" appellatur. Harum utraque[2] rationi nititur non tamen ut fundamento, hanc autem rationem id ipsum quod legem naturæ describit adversarius. Sic utique ratio non dicit vim aut potentiam quæ contra irrationalem dividitur, sed est ipsa lex naturæ humanæ aut inclinatio in bonum naturale, consequens formam hominis, de qua in septima nostra dicetur conclusione.

---

[1] Perhaps *in* should be read before every *eo*, or before none.

[2] *utique*, MS.

Reason or law of nature is used in two senses, according as man's original or fallen state is contemplated. Man's original reason goes along with the philosophy of Scripture.

Et ratio sic dicta dupliciter intelligitur. Nam ipsa lex naturæ humanæ proprie est ipsa ejusdem naturæ inclinatio a lege æterna derivata, ad cujus similitudinem primus homo conditus erat, aut ad quam homines per pœnitentiam reparantur, et hæc lex naturæ sive naturalis ratio in diligentibus Deum et eum timentibus tantum reperitur. De quolibet enim vitioso Psalmista ait [Ps. xlviii.]: *Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est jumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis;* et Ecclesiastes xii.: *Deum time, et omnia mandata ejus observa: hoc est omnis homo;* id est, ad hoc primo conditus erat omnis homo. Aliter lex naturæ seu ratio naturalis ipsa solet vocitari inclinatio naturæ humanæ in bonum, naturam hominis consequens generaliter, postquam peccato reperitur obnoxia. Ratio secundum primum modum illi philosophiæ morali semper concomitatur, quam Scripturæ revelatæ per Deum commendant.

Man's fallen reason gives birth to an imperfect moral philosophy.

Declinantibus autem a Dei similitudine hominibus et somniantium more, in bonum nunc naturali magis appetitu quam electione inclinatis, ratio secundo modo dicta quandam philosophiam moralem parturit, cui itidem ipsa ignorantia vulnerata debile supponitur fundamentum. Altera autem philosophia invariabilem certitudinem ex suo fundamento (Sacra scilicet Scriptura per Deum revelata) obtinet.

Further remarks on Pecock's illustration from the foundation of a house. As a house in a street is founded both in the street and in the city of which it is a part, so morals are grounded in the law of nature and on Scripture of which it is a part.

Quam insuper vana sit applicatio exempli fundationis domus in loco uno ad fundationem regiminum moralium in ratione tantum, qua nititur probare Sacram Scripturam non valere fundare mores humanos, præsertim cum ipsi juxta eum in ratione fundentur, ex tribus manifestari potest. Primo quia generaliter simile non est de fundatione domuum et scientiarum fundatione, ut diximus. Nec enim quidquam concludit adversarius per exemplum illud, sed simplices et illiteratos viros tantum fallere molitus est, qui inter fundamentum scientiarum et fundamentum domuum quod intersit non agnoscunt. Secundo, quia ex special

prærogativa Scripturæ Sanctæ datum est quod sicut spiritualis vir omnes dijudicat et a nemine judicatur, ita et hæc omnium morum (sive revelatorum per Deum sive industria humana reparabilium) causas principiaque examinat. Et tertio, quia Sancta Scriptura potest in id quod majus est, utpote in fundationem virtutum infusarum, idcirco etiam in minus valet operari, scilicet in fundationem adquisitarum. Unde contra exemplum adversarii sic argui posset. Suppono quod locus partialis et locus totalis non sunt duo loca. Exemplum: Civitas Damascenorum et vicus ejus, qui vocatur rectus, non sunt duo loca. Et idcirco domus Judæ, in qua Paulus morabatur, sic erat in vico fundata, ut quoniam vicus ejus erat in civitate, ex consequenti de necessitate eadem domus in civitate Damascenorum fundabatur.[1] Suppono insuper quod Sacra Scriptura triplicem legem continet, scilicet, naturæ, synagogæ, et ecclesiæ. Naturæ, a principio ejus usque in Exodum. Synagogæ, ab Exodo usque ad Evangelium. Lex autem ecclesiæ Christi et apostolorum continet doctrinam. His suppositis, sic possum invehi. Sicut domus ædificata in vico ad vicum et ad civitatem, ita traditiones et doctrinæ morales quæ in lege naturæ fundantur ad eandem legem et ad Sanctam Scripturam, cujus dicta lex naturæ prima pars est. Sed domus fundata in vico civitatis in ipsa etiam civitate fundatur, ergo traditiones et doctrinæ morales in lege naturæ fundatæ etiam in Sacra Scriptura fundantur. Quod concedimus, intelligendo id fundari in aliqua ejus parte, quod in toto admittit fundationem.

Pecock's assertion, that nothing is the foundation of any thing upon which it is not wholly built, examined.

Ad aliam probationem ubi dicit, quod nihil fundat domum, murum, aut arborem, nisi id solum super quo tota substantia domus, muri, vel arboris collocatur; ergo a pari, nihil fundat scientiam morum, nisi id

[1] The sense requires *fundaretur*, but very probably the author himself wrote the text as edited.

super quo solum mores ædificantur, quod non de Sacra Scriptura verificari potest. Sacra Scriptura, quoad res corporalis, loco circumscribitur, et idcirco fundata localiter proprio et singulari metitur fundamento: res autem, prout animæ considerationibus subjacet, in omnibus illis fundatur scientiis, in quibus secundum modos earundem formales quasdam et differentes mensurationes obtinet, quandoque similitudo non procedit. Nam etsi de vitiis et virtutibus in philosophia morali humana et in philosophia morali divina mentio fiat, dispariter tamen, ut supra diximus. Nec igitur incongruum aut inconveniens est rationi, cum veritates morales scientificæ et intelligibiles res sint atque considerationibus subjectæ, quod tota earum substantia, etsi non totaliter, in una et alia scientia fundetur. Planius de hoc dicetur in fine tertiæ decimæ conclusionis.

Ex Cap. IV.

(Compare Repress. pp. 12—18).

It is false that Scripture enjoins justice without describing it.

Insuper quod ait, Scripturas velle immo et imperare justitiam exhiberi inter proximos, non tamen quid ipsa sit describunt, verum non est.

Moral virtues are set down in Scripture both in word and in action.

Nam justitia et cæteræ virtutes, quas philosophia moralis et humana solo describit sermone, in Scripturis Sanctis sermone et opere comprobantur. Sermone diffinitur justitia et exercitanda infertur operi ubi dicitur: *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et, quæ sunt Dei Deo*, Luc. 5; et Marc. 12; et ad Rom. 13: *Reddite omnibus debita; cui tributum, tributum; cui*[1] *vectigal, vectigal; cui timorem, timorem; cui honorem, honorem.* Item Lev. 19: *Nolite facere aliquid iniquum in judicio, in regula, in pondere, et men-*

[1] *et cui*, MS., badly and against the Vulgate.

sura. Statera justa et æqua sint pondera, justus modius, æquusque sextarius. Quid etiam hæc omnia aliud sonant, quam quod brevi sermone Philosophus exarat, dicens:[1] *Justitia est virtus reddens unicuique quod suum est?* Non diceret ergo adversarius justitiam et cæteras virtutes per Scripturas Sanctas non diffiniri, cum per eas facillime et actuum exemplo et vocum annotatione valeant agnosci. Ubi autem in confirmationem sic arguit: Omnis res fundata dependens est a suo fundamento, ita ut absque suo fundamento esse nequeat, sed combustis aut penitus destructis Scripturis Sanctis doctrinæ morales remanerent; igitur ipsæ doctrinæ a Scripturis Sanctis fundationem non admittunt: quid quod absque Scripturis Sanctis perfecta nulla reperitur moralis doctrina, sicut absque astronomiæ consideratione de ortu et occasu stellarum [et] planetarum conjunctionibus nullus perfecte agat? Verumtamen sicut pastores nauclerique, quibus usus et non scientia astrorum est, de eisdem etiam certitudinaliter sed non scientifice pronunciant, ita philosophis naturali edoctis ratione quis vivendi modus conveniat, quisve disconveniat evenire contingit. Nam etsi ratio naturalis et humana multiplicibus tenebrata ignorantiæ nebulis omnem perfecte vivendi modum non aspiciat, hunc tamen aut illum modum æque posse consequi experimentaliter perspicuum est.

Sed adversarius quidem doctrinam moralem perfecte remanere intelligit combustis aut destructis Scripturis, alioquin nihil concluderet in argumento; hoc autem omnino negamus: *Dicant,* (sicut ait pater sanctus Augustinus super Johannem homilia,[2]) *Pagani, Judæi, vel hæretici, Bene vivimus. Si per ostium non intrant,*

It is false that the doctrine of morals would remain in its integrity if the Scriptures were burnt.

[1] Comp. Aristot. *Rhet.* Lib. I. c. 9.

[2] Aug. *Tract. in Joh.* xlv. § 2, 3, tom. iii. p. 432. Ed. Ant. 1700. Bury's quotation extends to the end of § 3.

quid eis prodest unde gloriantur? &c. * * * *
Ex his Sancti Augustini sermonibus intelligi datur omnem recte vivendi doctrinam a Scripturis Sanctis, quibus Christus ostium est, velut proprio dependere fundamento: sed nec eam perfectam doctrinam morum posse dici, quæ soli naturali rationi innititur, quam ipsi pagani et hæretici licet inaniter gloriantur se possidere.

Ex Cap. VI.

(Compare Repress. pp. 18—20).

Pecock's assertion that the Scripture did not exist before Abraham is false. The unwritten essence of Scripture commenced with the first positive law given to man.

Hæc autem probatio sic impugnatur. Sicut Sacra Scriptura pro parte Evangeliorum fundat sufficienter omnia quæ respiciunt novam legem gratiæ, et pro parte mandatorum ea quæ concernunt jura legis Mosaicæ, ita pro parte Genesis ea quæ concernunt circumstantias legis naturæ; igitur sicut de se et ex se sufficit ad duas ultimas, fundando eas scilicet, ita et ad primam. Sed dicit hic adversarius Scripturam mandatorum non incepisse nisi in Abraham et Moyse, et idcirco eam non posse fundare vitam moralem eorum qui præcesserunt. Contra sic: Hoc argumentum non concludit, Scriptura mandatorum non erat data Judæis ante tempora Abrahæ vel Moysis, igitur ante eorum tempora Scriptura Sancta non erat: sicut nec valet sic arguere: Lux meridiana non est priusquam sol ad austrum declinaverit, igitur nec lux diurna est priusquam sol ad austrum declinaverit. A negatione partis non infertur negatio totius, in successivis præsertim. Hic dicit adversarius Scripturam Sanctam et Vetus Testamentum a circumcisione Abrahæ primam traxisse originem, ita quod simpliciter ante Abraham non erat Scriptura Sacra aut Vetus Testamentum. Contra suppono tecum quod Sacra Scriptura et Vetus incepit Testamentum ubi prima lex

positiva oriebatur, ex sola liberalitate Dei hominibus concessa.

Ex hac suppositione sic invehi posset. Assignatis duobus quæ secundum ordinem participant aliquid eis commune, non dicemus commune illud primo cum posteriori in ordine illo, sed cum priori exordium sumpsisse. Sit hoc exemplum nostrum: Aurora et meridies ordinate participant lucem, et idcirco non a meridie, sed ab Aurora prima lux procedit. Cum igitur lex naturæ et lex circumcisionis ordinate incedant, hoc eis commune habentes, quod utraque sit lex positiva ex sola liberalitate Dei concessa; (nam quod primi homines clara cognitione Creatoris et creaturarum mox conditi perfusi sunt, non naturæ legibus, sed sola ejus voluntate actum est;) igitur legi naturæ prius conveniet, quod sit talis lex positiva ex sola liberalitate Dei hominibus concessa, quam legi circumcisionis; et per consequens cum tu dicas cum tali lege Scripturam Sanctam et Vetus inchoare Testamentum, non a lege circumcisionis sed naturæ fateberis Scripturam et Vetus Testamentum incepisse. * * *

The original law of nature was such a law, imposed by the mere will of God on Adam: consequently the Scripture is as old as Adam.

Igitur a primo credente usque ad ultimum credentem una erit lex; lex ecclesiæ credentium Scriptura Sancta est; igitur omnium credentium, nedum a lege circumcisionis, sed a lege naturæ inchoante, una erit Scriptura Sancta.

Thus the law of believers has been always one: viz., Holy Scripture.

After saying that Adam learned the indissolubility of marriage and other matters by divine revelation, and not by the light of nature, for confirmation of which view he refers to Augustine, *Sup. Gen. ad litt.*, and that Abel and the antediluvians were instructed in the same way "multis aliis virtutibus specialibus, "quibus si ratio naturalis quæ omnibus inerat homi- "nibus jecisset fundamentum, proculdubio ab omnibus "fuissent approbatæ," he proceeds thus: Ad tertium igitur argumentum, quo probare nititur suam primam conclusionem, ubi sic arguit: Lex naturæ super quam

The moral virtues are rather rooted than founded in the natural reason, which is common to all men. This is liable to error unless aided by Divine illumination.

fundantur virtutes morales non fundantur in Sacra Scriptura, quia lex naturæ erat priusquam Vetus aut Novum scriberetur Testamentum; quare sequitur Scripturam Sanctam non esse fundamentum virtutibus istis moralibus, dicendum est quod in lege naturæ quædam virtutes morales radicari possunt, sed non fundari proprie. Nam sicut radix vivacitatem suam a fundamento sortitur, et imperfecta est, nisi suo adhæserit fundamento; ita lex naturæ aut in vitium declinat, aut non dirigit perfecte in virtutem, nisi quatenus suffragetur per sanctas Dei illuminationes. Unde quidam prophetarum aiebat:[1] *Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui, et in libro tuo omnes scribentur.* Quasi diceret, "Cum oculi tui, Deus meus, imperfectum legis naturæ "meæ vidissent, præbuisti subsidium, librum Scrip-"turæ proferens, cujus præceptis et institutionibus in-"delibiliter humana et mortalis vita describeretur." Nec valet arguties adversarii.

The Old Testament existed before it was written, as the rules of grammar and other sciences existed in use before they were committed to writing.

Nempe hoc antecedens verum est: Lex naturæ erat priusquam Vetus scriberetur aut Novum[2] Testamentum. Consequens nihilominus abnegatur, scilicet, quod Sacra Scriptura non est fundamentum eorum quæ in lege naturæ continentur. Nam etsi lex fuerit ante Scripturam Veteris Testamenti, non tamen præcessit Vetus Testamentum. Hunc vero modum dicendi ex duobus verificamus: primo ex testimonio ipsius adversarii dicentis Vetus Testamentum in circumcisione incepisse Abrahæ, cum nihilominus lex circumcisionis et ipsa circumcisio usque ad tempora Moysis descripta non fuerit; igitur per eum Vetus Testamentum prius erat quam id ipsum testamentum describeretur. Secundo hoc ipsum docet experientia. Ante enim grammatica erat, et postmodo literis dabatur ad memoriam; prius etiam geometria in mensurationibus suis exquisita scriptoribus mundi exinde operandi et laborandi circa

[1] Ps. cxxxviii. (Vulg.) [2] *vetus*, MS

se perpetuam exhibuit disciplinam. Immo, juxta Hugonem[1] in suo *Didascalicon* lib. 1. c. penultimo, omnes scientiæ prius erant in usu quam in arte. Unde artes generaliter ab usu venerunt. Propterea dicimus, quod Vetus Testamentum et Sacra Scriptura prius erant quam scriptorum calamis et digitis exararentur.

Ex Cap. XII.

(Compare Repress., pp. 24, 25.)

Pecock's argument that Scripture is not the foundation of moral virtues, because it only mentions them briefly, refuted. It is the office of Scripture to lay the foundation of all that concerns man's salvation and consequently of moral virtues. The smallness of a foundation is no objection to its reality: various illustrations of this.

Falsa igitur calumnia tua est, o æmule Legis et Scripturarum, ubi mores humanos regiminaque moralis vitæ in Sacris Literis dicis non fundari. Formetur sic ratio. Sacra Scriptura de se et secundum institutionem sui fundat omne id quod de se ordinatur ad salutem vitæ humanæ, quæ est finis intentus in ea, dicente Paulo, "[ut] per patientiam et consolationem "Scripturarum spem habeamus." Exhibitio autem virtutum per quas passiones temperantur et fugantur, aliæque institutiones morales ordinantes ad Deum directe hanc operantur salutem. Quare sequitur Scripturam Sanctam de se et ex sui institutione hujusmodi virtutes fundare. Néc asperneris hoc cum fidelibus fideliter humiliterque concipere, qui grandia quædam frustra te invenisse judicio tuæ rationis gloriaris, quanquam pauca sint (ut dicis) quæ in Scripturis de morali vita efferantur. "In paucis," ait Philosophus,[2] "vis[3] major:" "multitudo enim et numerus dignitatem non arguunt." Nam et plebs ignobilis ubique multa est: nobilium autem personarum rarior admodum reperitur numerus. Erant, ait Scriptura,[4] Salomoni "sexaginta reginæ," sed "concubinæ octoginta, atque vilium adolescentularum

[1] *i. e.* Hugo de S. Victore.

[2] Compare Aristot. *Polit.* lib. vii. c. 4; but it is by no means certain that this is the place alluded to.

[3] *via*, MS.

[4] The quotation is wholly false: see 1 Kings xi. 3.

" numerus non erat." Quid enim compendiosius dici potest: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et proximum tuum sicut teipsum?* Et tamen " in his duobus," ait Dominus Jesus veritatis magister et veritas, " tota lex pendet et prophetæ." Ecce quam multa sunt quæ fundantur, et quam parvæ quantitatis, etsi virtutis plurimæ id sit in quo fundantur. Insuper multitudinem inspice ab oriente et occidente credentium populorum, modicamque eorum fundationem simul attendas. Istis Paulus dicit: *Vos estis cives sanctorum, et domestici Dei: superædificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum.* (Ad Eph. 2.) Immo apostoli et prophetæ plures erant, in uno tamen omnes et indivisibili fundamento sunt collocati. *Fundamentum,* inquit Paulus, *aliud nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, Dominus noster Jesus Christus.* (1 ad Cor. 3.)

A great number of moral conclusions may be based on a few Scriptural principles. Illustrations of this.

Sane auctoritatibus his simul et ratione congrua persuaderi potest conclusionum moralium innumeram multitudinem ex paucis Sanctæ Scripturæ posse dependere principiis. Neque principiorum paucitas indignitatem sed gloriam potius et nobilitatem conclusionibus præfert. Sufficit enim fundamento considerationis et virtutum, quod omnia virtualiter complectatur, quæ super id fundanda sunt. At sic in hac parte Scripturæ, *De omni ligno Paradisi comede, de ligno autem scientiæ boni et mali ne comedas,* fundantur justitia obediendo Deo, prudentia adquiescendo ejus præcepto, fortitudo respuendo viriliter vetitum, temperantia cibum sumendo permissum. Sicut quidem in hujus unius violatione mandati omnium vitiorum perniciosa fundata structura est; ita generaliter quædam virtutum omnium in hujus exhibitione fundatio reperitur. Qui enim resolvit totam legem et prophetas in hoc verbum *Diliges,* profecto de facili in hoc verbum, *De omni ligno quod est in Paradiso,* et in moralem vitam Adæ omnem formæ vivendi

modum moralem resolvet, utpote ex qua omnis, ante quam nulla homini vita consistebat.

* * * * *

Ex Cap. XIV.

(Compare Repress., pp. 25, 26.)

Cum igitur Sanctæ Scripturæ sit opus libros vitæ singulos singulis animabus conficere, merito tibi reluctamur, dicentes quodcunque regimen juris naturalis verius in exteriori Scriptura Bibliæ fore exaratum, quam in interiori libro animæ aut humani cordis. *Verba,* ait Dominus Jesus, *quæ ego loquor vobis spiritus et vita sunt.* Joh. 6.

Pecock's corollary is false, which affirms that natural justice is more truly written in man's soul than in Scripture.

* * * * *

Occasione autem secundæ partis corollarii tui pauca habeo adversus te. Dicis enim si discordia apparens oriatur inter verba exterioris Scripturæ et judicium rationis, ipsa scripta sic exponenda, glossanda, et interpretanda sunt, ut cum judicio rationis concordent, judicium autem rationis ducendum non est, ut cum eis conveniat Scripturis. Quis autem te sic blasphemantem et ore rabidissimo[1] sanctam violantem veritatem amplius tolerabit? Annon Scripturæ Auctor, cui omnipotentia proprium est, quidquam[2] aggredi perficereque valebit, quo imbecillitatem nostræ rationis exsuperet? Intuere pessimos patres tuos, quibus nimium naturalis ratio complacuit, Christum audientes dicentem: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii Hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobismetipsis. Durus est* (aiunt), *hic sermo, quis potest sustinere eum?* Omnes enim quotquot discordiam inter verba Christi et judicium

Those who make reason the standard by which to judge of Scripture are like those who murmured against Christ's words at Capernaum.

---

[1] *rapidissimo*, MS.

[2] *quanquam*, MS.

rationis sentientes, judicio rationis et non Christi sermonibus favent, ex illis sunt qui abierunt retrorsum.

* * * * *

All antiquity, sacred and profane, denounces such a mode of dealing with divine mysteries.

Augustini, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Gregorii, Hugonis, Boëthii, Trismegisti, Ciceronis, et Platonis sententias te velim audire, ut quam perversitatis obliquitas grandis sit, divina mysteria humano more velle pertractare, vel invitus discas.

* * * * *

After quoting the first eight of these authors, he proceeds thus:—Et Plato in Timæo: *Credamus his quæ apud prius sæculum. Certe deorum filiis et nepotibus non credi satis irreligiosum est.*[1] Et alibi introducit Plato ita colloquentem Socrati:[2] *Memento tam me qui loquor, quam vos qui judicatis homines esse; atque in rebus ita sublimibus mediocrem explanationem magni cujusdam esse hominis*[3] *laboris.* SOCR.[4] *Omnes tibi, o Timæe, veniam largimur volentes.* Ecce Plato in rebus humanis ut homo loquens veniam precatur et obtinet. In rebus vero majoribus Deorum filiis se, ut tu, non præfert, sed eis non credi satis putat irreligiosum. Filii Deorum et nepotes homines sunt Sancto Spiritu inflammati quibus dicitur: *Ego dixi, Dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes;* per hos enim ad nos usque, nedum quod de Deo, sed et de his moribus qui ad Deum ordinant, Scriptura Sancta mundum edocuit. Et quomodo tu adversus multitudinem hanc, discordantem rationi humanæ, Scripturam Sanctam ejusdem rationis correctioni per glossulas quasdam et interpretationes subici præsumes?

* * * * *

---

[1] Ἀδύνατον θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ τε εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκεῖα φάσκουσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἑπομένοις τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. Plat. *Tim.* p. 40. D.E. Ed. Steph. The quotation, it will be observed, is very loosely made, as is also the following.

[2] Id. p. 29. c. D.

[3] *omīs*, MS.

[4] *Seneca*, MS.

Cap. XXX.

(Compare Repress., pp. 39–42.)

Septima conclusio est ista: Nulla pars divinæ legis hominibus datæ Scripturæ fundamento carere potest; sed et quantumcunque in corde hominis lex naturæ descripta sit, firmius tamen et certius de ea per Scripturam Sanctam, quam per judicium rationis fideles agnoscunt. Probatio primæ partis in conclusione est hoc. Omnis lex divina data homini ad evangelicam legem, ad legem Moysis, et ad legem naturæ reducitur; quælibet autem istarum legum in Sacra fundatur Scriptura; igitur nulla pars divinæ legis homini datæ Scripturæ fundamento carere potest.

Bury's seventh conclusion: No part of God's law to man is without its foundation in Scripture. Proof of the conclusion. The law of nature, of Moses, and of Christ, which comprise all God's laws given to man, are founded in Scripture.

De lege naturæ instantiam facit adversarius, sed et qualiter hæc lex in Scriptura fundetur, per primam conclusionem et secundam sufficienter arbitror declaratum esse: ut autem secunda pars conclusionis elucescat, quid lex ipsa naturæ sit, quid lex humana sit, et demum quid sit id ipsum quod dicitur lex divina, qualiterque leges istæ adinvicem ordinentur, notandum est.

For further proof that this assertion is true, definitions of natural, human, and divine law shall be added.

* * * * *

Ipsum . . . lumen naturalis justitiæ, quo universaliter discernimus inter bonum et malum nihil aliud est quam ipsa impressio luminis divini, qua rationalis creatura signata est. Hoc ipsum etiam lex naturæ rationalis appellatur, secundum quam generalis quædam insita est et regularis inclinatio naturæ rationali, qua statutam et limitatam suis viribus perfectionem posset attingere, si non aliunde ad contaminationem anima rationalis ipsa etiam contaminaretur atque fœdaretur; lex autem humana est quoddam dictamen rationis practicæ.

Natural and human law defined.

Differt igitur lex humana a lege naturæ in duobus. Primo in hoc quod lex naturæ præcedit in homine omnem actum rationis, lex vero humana ipsius rationis practicæ dictamen et sententiam subsequitur. Nempe

These laws differ in two respects: viz., in the order of their origin, and in the distinctness of their definitions.

cum lex naturæ ipsa sit inclinatio, qua creatura rationalis apta est ferri in proprium finem, erit de ea loquendum, quemadmodum de quacunque inclinatione formam naturalem sequente loqui consuevimus. Idcirco enim aliter forma ignis, aliter forma aquæ agit, quia alia inclinatio naturalis hanc, alia hanc formam comitatur. Mediat igitur inclinatio naturalis inter formam et actum; quasi posterior forma, quia est accidens ejus, et tamen prior actu, eo quod ipsius principium consistat.

* * * * *

Secundo lex naturæ et lex humana distinguuntur, in eo quod lex [naturæ] inclinat ad discretionem boni et mali in genere et confuse; lex vero humana determinat de bono et malo distincte et secundum aliquas suas species.

* * * * *

Divine law necessary to be added to these on four accounts, and first because human and natural laws are too weak to direct man to eternal happiness.

Præter has dictas leges, naturalem scilicet et humanam, necesse fuit propter quatuor divinam requiri legem ad directionem humanorum actuum. Primo[1] si homo ordinaretur solum ad bonum proportionatum suis viribus, non esset ei opus alicujus directivi supra legem naturalem aut humanam; sed finis beatitudinis improportionatus est nobis; idcirco [necesse] fuit ut illius legis divinæ scilicet doctrina traderetur, per quam mentes nostræ ad hujus boni supernaturalis consecutionem redderentur dispositæ.

Also because of the uncertainty of human judgment.

Secunda causa est, propter incertitudinem humani judicii præcipue de contingentibus et particularibus circa quæ opiniones et diversitates sectarum oriuntur. Adeo enim circa talia judicium rationis variatur, ut non solum aliter iste, aliter ille sentiat esse agendum, sed et quod uni hodie videatur honestum, cras turpe et vitandum putetur.

* * * * *

And because human and natural laws are imperfect and incomplete.

Tertio autem lex divina necessaria nobis est, quia lex humana et naturalis non sufficiunt. De his enim

---

[1] *prima*, MS.

non potest sufficienter in lege statui, de quibus per eandem legem non potest judicari. Constat autem neminem perfici habitu virtutis, nisi quem interioris et exterioris hominis laudanda dispositio commendaret, quanquam ipsa portio interior quasi totius boni promereatur laudem. *Omnis gloriâ ejus*, ait Psalmista, *filiæ regis ab intus*. At quoniam per legem humanam, quæ non judicat de moribus qui latent, sed de patentibus quam maxime, et non per eam cohibere et refrenare moderarique motus interiores:[1] idcirco ut veræ virtutis apprehenderemus summam, necessarium erat divinam legem nobis superinfundi.

Quarta ratio est, quia ([ut] dicit Augustinus, in libro *De Libero Arbitrio*,)[2] lex humana non potest omnia mala punire, quia dum vellet generaliter hæc extirpare, cum eis non pauca bona destrueret, sicque utilitas tolleretur boni communis. And, in fine, because human law cannot punish all evils.

* * * * *

Ex his autem et præcedentibus septimæ conclusionis nostræ veritas sufficienter declaratur. The above proofs will suffice for Bury's seventh conclusion.

* * * * *

Septima igitur conclusio adversarii neganda est, scilicet, quod major pars divinæ legis homini datæ, in magna quantitate supereminens parti residuæ, sufficienter fundatur extra Sacram Scripturam in interiori libro legis naturæ et philosophiæ moralis; non autem in libro Sacræ Scripturæ, qui vocatur Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Ubi tamen nititur adversarius conclusionem suam[3] sic defensare: Omnia reginina, virtutes, et veritates in quorum inventionem, eruditionem, et cognitionem naturalis ratio per se aut cum adjutorio naturali, absque supernaturali revelatione a Deo facta, consurgere valet et pervenire, sufficienter extra Sanctam Scrip- Further proof of the falsity of Pecock's seventh conclusion. Even if it were true, as it is not, that the greater part of God's law to man might be discovered by reason, it does not follow that its discovery has, in fact, been so made and not by revelation.

[1] Something is omitted or corrupted here; if *non possumus* were substituted for *et non per eam*, we should obtain the required sense.

[2] Compare Lib. 1, § 14, (Op. tom. i., p. 425. Ed. Antv. 1700).

[3] *suam conclusionem suam*, MS.

turam Novi et Veteris Testamenti, fundantur in interiori libro naturæ jacente in spiritu et anima hominis; sed ita est quod talia regimina sunt major pars legis divinæ homini datæ, in magnaque quantitate excedunt remanentiam totius divinæ legis; igitur dicta regimina extra Sacram Scripturâm sufficienter fundantur, &c.:—dicendum est quod major et minor evidentis falsitatis arguuntur. Nam, sicut in solutione secundæ conclusionis dictum est, possibilitas rei non probat fundationem sed actualitas. Nempe possibile erat præsepe primo suscepisse Christum Romæ, nullus tamen per hoc probat idem præsepe primo fuisse fundatum Romæ. Nec quanquam de moribus multa valeant absque revelatione cognosci, concludendum est quod idcirco eadem multa sine revelatione fundantur; cum de facto, stante possibilitate dicta, per revelationes sanctas sanctis patriarchis, prophetis, et apostolis primo innotuerunt. Insuper ubi ait in minore, quod talia fundata super legem naturæ et rationem sunt major pars divinæ legis homini datæ, verum non est, ut patet in fine responsionis ad sextum argumentum pro prima conclusione.

Pecock's praise of his own books reprehended. Bury will in due time tell him his opinion of their merits.

De jactantia et laude suorum opusculorum, quibus adversarius hic se extollit, sibi ipsi videat. Sapientis eulogium est, "laudet te alienus et non os "tuum;" hic autem sic de se scribit, "Per sollennem et "regalem processum major argumenti mei probatus est "in libro *De justa appretiatione Sacræ Scripturæ*," quod tamen omnino non credimus; processum enim de eo ibi fieri putare possumus, probationem vero minime. Nihilominus, duce Deo, prosecuturi eum per singula suorum latibula voluminum, cum ad id perventum sit, quod sentimus dabimus intelligere. Cumque ad suum codicem accesserimus, quem *De Donato Christianæ Religionis* ascripsit, quicquid moralis regiminis in ratione fundari ibidem perhibet, totum supereminenti modo in eloquiis divinis prius fundamentum suscepisse monstrabimus.

Insuper esto quod ratione naturali, Deum unum esse a quo creaturæ in suas species prodierunt, quodque veram felicitatem esse scire possemus ejusdem rationis naturali ductu, conjungi scilicet Deo amando et serviendo ; verumtamen cum hæc ipsa Spiritus Dei per Scripturas Sanctas elegantius certiusque docuerit, quam in ejus cujusvis alteriusve prædíti ratione naturali quocunque codice exarari valeat, quis non, neglecto tanto præsumptionis spiritu, ut supra Deum se mores informare humanos spondeat, humiliter [1] Scripturis rite docendus obtemperet? Fortasse vero ex ipsius Scripturæ medullis ubi adversarius impinguatus dilatatusque erat, in largitorem ingratus iste recalcitravit, suis se viribus obtinuisse credens vere vivendi scientiam, quam non nisi longo sacrarum literarum contractu diutinaque industria ab ipsis ferme cunabulis sensim perquirere visus est. Inveniturque sibi ipsi contrarius.

Reason teaches elementary truths less clearly than Scripture. Pecock ungratefully ascribes to the power of reason the knowledge that he has gained by means of revelation.

Dixit namque supra in conclusione sua tertia, Scripturæ officium proprium et integrum esse articulos fundare fidei. Constat autem, "Deum esse creatorem "cœli et terræ," unum immo et primum esse inter articulos fidei, quare si conclusionis suæ tertiæ sententiam teneat, articulus iste non in ratione sed in Scriptura Sancta primæ suæ [2] fundationis locum habet. Consimiliterque arguere possumus contra eum de felicitate, quæ aliud non est quam ipsa vita æterna. Fortasse hic non veretur dicere, ut prædictam repugnantiam verborum suorum possit evitare, hæc ipsa quæ recitavimus de fidei articulis non esse. Sic enim, dum fugit Scyllam, in Charybdim demergitur ; et dum sibi in errore defensionem extruit, apostolorum et canonis antiquissima fidelissimaque confundit symbola, in quibus pro articulis supputantur et Deum mundum creasse et vitam hominum esse æternam.

Pecock is inconsistent with himself in assigning certain truths to the discovering power of reason. He owns that it is the office of Scripture to ground articles of faith, and yet maintains that the first article of the creed may be discovered by reason.

[1] *humilibus*, MS. | [2] *primi sui*, MS.

Ex Cap. XXXVI.

(Compare Repress., pp. 43–46.)

Bury's tenth conclusion. The law of nature or moral philosophy is a very useful guide to those who are without the direct light of Divine revelation; but is not universally necessary to those who have that light. Thus the hearts of the Apostles were enlightened without the aid of moral philosophy. Various arguments for the conclusion.

Decima conclusio principalis est ista: Quamvis lex naturalis, quam adversarius moralem philosophiam vocat, in judicio rationis fundata, sit utilis valde catholicis illis, quibus divinæ revelationes immediate non elucescunt, non tamen generaliter omnibus ita necessaria est; quin absque ea quidam vivaciter vigoroseque et satis peculiariter Deo summo valent[1] deservire. Veritas hujus conclusionis sufficienter ut putamus per dicta 6^{1}, 7^{a}, 8^{a}, et 9^{a} conclusionibus elucescit. Quid etiam ille magnus sanctus pater Augustinus de hac ipsa sentiat conclusione, ex suo prologo in libros *De Doctrina Christiana* datur intelligi, ubi sic: *Quamvis momento uno temporis adveniente Spiritu Sancto replet apostoli omnium gentium linguis locuti sunt, non tamen se indignum putet Christo cui talia non proveniunt, ac Spiritum Sanctum se accepisse dubitet; immo et quod per hominem addiscendum est discat sine superbia, et qui docet*[2] *sine superbia et invidia tradat quod accepit. Neque temptemus Dominum cui credidimus, ne talibus inimici versutiis et perversitate decepti ad ipsum quoque Evangelium audiendum atque discendum nolimus ire in ecclesiam aut codicem legere aut docentem prædicantemque hominem audire, et expectemus rapi usque in tertium cœlum, sive in corpore sive extra corpus, sicut Apostolus ait, et audire arcana verba quæ non licet homini loqui; aut ibi videre Dominum Jesum Christum, et ab illo potius quam ab hominibus audire Evangelium. Caveamus tales temptationes superbissimas et periculosissimas. Cogitemus etiam ipsum Apostolum Paulum licet divina et cœlesti*

[1] So the MS., but the subjunctive would be greatly preferable.

[2] *docetur*, MS.

voce prostratum et instructum ad hominem tamen missum esse, ut sacramenta perciperet et copularetur ecclesiæ: sed et centurionem Cornelium, quamvis exauditas orationes ejus et eleemosynas receptas ei angelus nuntiaverit, Petro tamen traditum imbuendum, per quem non solum sacramenta susciperet, sed etiam quid credendum, quid sperandum, quid item diligentum esset audiret. Et poterant utique omnia per angelum fieri, sed abjecta esset humana conditio, si per homines hominibus Deus verbum suum ministrari nolle videretur.[1] Hæc Augustinus. Ex quibus Sancti Augustini sermonibus sic arguitur pro conclusione: Si per homines Deus verbum suum hominibus nollet annuntiari, abjecta videretur esse humana conditio: ergo lex naturalis, quam adversarius Scripturarum moralem philosophiam vocat, in judicio rationis fundata, per quam hominis est hominem docere, catholicis illis necessaria est, quibus divinæ revelationes immediate non elucescunt. Item centurio Cornelius Petro traditus est imbuendus, ut ab eo audiret, quid crederet, quid speraret, quidque diligeret, ut quemadmodum Petrus, ita ille efficaciter placeret Deo; hos autem vivendi modos, non per judicium philosophiæ, sed per revelationem Petrus exercuit; "absque doctrina hu- "mana," inquit Augustinus, "Deus illustravit corda "apostolorum." Igitur possibilis est et vera secunda pars conclusionis, scilicet, quod quidam vivaciter vigoroseque et satis peculiariter Deo possent deservire per solam revelationem, absque omni philosophia morali judicio rationis humanæ fundata.

Idcirco cum adversarius dicat in conclusione sua decima, doctrinam et disciplinam legis naturalis et moralis philosophiæ adeo consistere necessariam, ita

Pecock's two arguments for his tenth conclusion have been already refuted,

[1] August. Opp. tom. iii. pp. 2, 3. Ed. Ant. 1700. The quotation, however, is not very exact.

ut hæc deficere non possit Christianis qui Deo servire volunt et ejus mandata servare, negamus quidem eum. At quia loquacissimæ nugationi, qua probationes dictæ conclusionis suæ adversarius communivit, respondere stylo speciali non curavimus, saltem tamen ne insolubilia se gaudeat assumpsisse, primum argumentum suum per septimam conclusionem nostram, secundum argumentum per nonam conclusionem, et per alia quæ jam dicta sunt, solutum arbitretur.

Those arguments stated. His first argument.

Argumentum primum: Illa doctrina non potest deesse Christianis, quæ est major pars totius legis divinæ homini datæ in terris; lex naturæ et philosophia moralis sunt hujusmodi; igitur hæc lex ita necessaria est ut Christianis deesse non possit.

His second argument.

Argumentum secundum: Illa doctrina non potest deesse Christianis sine qua sufficienter et secure Sancta Scriptura non intelligitur, nec potest intelligi; lex naturalis et philosophia moralis sunt hujusmodi; igitur minor primi argumenti, et etiam minor hujus secundi veritate carent, ut declaravimus.

* * * * *

Pecock's assertion that reason bears a greater part in founding the doctrine of the sacraments than Scripture is false, as appears from the nature of the sacraments themselves.

In reference to Pecock's remarks on the sacraments, Bury replies: Per fidem sacramentorum et eorum virtutem fideles accessum habent ad gratiam "in qua "stant et in qua gloriantur in spe gloriæ filiorum Dei;" igitur cum iste effectus proprius et immediatus sacramentorum omne judicium rationis et philosophiæ transcendat, claret eorundem sacramentorum institutiones et usus omne judicium rationis superare.

And from Scripture.

Confirmatur per Apostolum ad Titum 3°: *Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos abunde per Jesum Christum.* In hac auctoritate ostenditur diversitas virtutum earum quæ judicium rationis, et earum quæ sacramenta Christi consequuntur. Nempe opera justitiæ quæ nos facimus sunt

ea quæ in ratione fundantur et philosophia morali. De his dicitur in Isaia: *Omnes justitiæ nostræ quasi pannus menstruatæ.* (Isaiæ 65°.) Idcirco hæc justitiæ nostræ dicuntur et opera nostra, quia harum habitibus perfecti utimur cum volumus. Unde morales viri dicuntur domini actuum suorum; ita ut apud vulgus dicatur: *Sapientem etiam astris dominari.* Rursus virtutes exprimit sacramentorum dicens: *Per misericordiam suam salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti,* et cætera. Ex his sic invehitur: *Lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis,* et cætera. Sacramenta ad hunc effectum instituuntur, ut homines per ea salvi fiant, sed juxta prædictam beati Pauli sententiam, nulla judicia rationis aut philosophiæ vel legis naturalis, quæ sunt opera legis per nos facta aut justitiæ quæ nos fecimus, ad hunc conducunt effectum; quare institutiones et eorum usus omnia judicia rationis et philosophiæ humanæ principia transcendent.

Item omnis consensus animi qui non est inquisitus, aut scrutatus, sed infusus, excedit omne judicium rationis, cum judicium rationis semper inquirat, scrutetur, et deliberet super his quæ apud intellectum sunt; sed fides, per quam sacramenta omnem institutionem et omnem usum habent, requirit consensum, non inquisitum, nec scrutatum, ut Damascenus[1] habet quarto *Sententiarum,* cap. tertio; igitur hæc ipsa eorundem sacramentorum fides omne judicium rationis excedit.

Faith, moreover, upon which the efficacy of the sacraments depends, requires the consent of the mind, not the investigation of reason.

Bury has many more remarks on this branch of the argument, and confirms his views by the authority of many of the Fathers.

[1] The reference to the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard is false; the place of John Damascene seems to be *De fid. orthod.* Lib. v. c. 11 (Op. tom. 1, p. 263. Ed. Par. 1712)

Ex Cap. XXXIX.

(Compare Repress., p. 46.)

Bury's eleventh conclusion. The unlearned have cause to bless God that they have learned the sure rule of life, not from human philosophers but from inspired writers. Proof of the conclusion from Scripture.

Undecima conclusio est ista: Illiterati viri et simplices ob id præcipue laudes Deo persolvere tenentur, quod regulas vivendi certissimas modosque et leges, quibus vera philosophia colitur, non per philosophos naturales aut humanas doctrinas, sed per sanctos patres, prophetas, et apostolos didicerunt. Totius veteris ac novæ Scripturæ series hujus conclusionis veritati attestatur. Nam cum omnis nostræ inventionis doctrina, totaque philosophia hominum errorem naturalem habeat, aut certe suspicionem erroris, quam eis semper et ubique invincibilis parturit ignorantia (ut in sexta conclusione ostensum est), clementissime non per quoslibet vivacis ingenii viros sed per vasa electionis præcipue usque ad horam abscondita divina providentia certissimam agendorum lucem populis eduxit. Ait utique Malachias propheta: *Labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam.* Non dixit: "Labia Peripatetici," "labia Stoici," aut "labia ex Ionicis cujusve philo-"sophi humanæ sectæ;" sed "labia sacerdotis" custodiunt scientiam, et legem requirent ex ore ejus. Quasi etiam percunctanti cur ex ore ejus scientia legis exquireretur, respondet idem propheta: *Quia angelus Domini est.* Quod enim quæstionis dudum cæremonialia, legalia, moraliaque protulerunt, mox sacerdotum judicum[1] judiciis delatum est; hi autem non scrutiniis rationis usi sunt, sed aut per Dei oracula, aut per voces ejus in Scripturis Sanctis edocti, scrupulum omne[2] et omnem agendi vivendique dubitationem constantissime amputarunt.

* * * * *

God has taught mankind the perfect law of life not by men of letters but by

Non igitur duntaxat septem sacramentorum paucissimas regulas, ut adversarius garrire solet, sed et totius vitæ humanæ perfectam speciosissimamque

[1] *judicium*, MS. | [2] So the MS.

legem per illiteratos fideles, non ratione hominis, non sensu, non ingenio, non inquisitione quæ claudicant, sed Deo illos illuminante inviolabiliter mundus accepit. Quid autem de hac re Paulus sentiat, per id quod ad Galatas 1° scriptum est datur intelligi: *Notum facio* (ait) *Evangelium meum, quod evangelizatum est a me; quia non est secundum hominem, neque enim ego ab homine accepi illud, neque didici, sed per revelationem Jesu Christi.* Non dicat adversarius Paulum a philosophis modos primo suscepisse vivendi, quamvis in sacramentorum mysteriis postea per Christum revelantem fuerit edoctus.

inspired apostles. St. Paul's Gospel not learned of man but by revelation.

* * * * *

Vas istud electionis quidem non erat ad sacramenta libanda, sed ut Christi nomen ferret "coram regibus et "principibus terræ" et mores quosdam seminaret novellos, quos non natura vetus aut prioris legis sanctio, sed nova mater fides attulerat. *Non* (inquit) *misit me Deus baptizare sed evangelizare* (1ª ad Cor. 1°). Et Galatas interrogat (ad Galatas 3°): *Hoc solum volo a vobis discere. Ex operibus legis Spiritum accepistis, an ex auditu fidei? Qui igitur tribuit vobis Spiritum, et operatur virtutes in vobis, ex operibus legis, an ex auditu fidei?* Ac si diceret: "Virtutes, O Ga- "latæ, quas Spiritus Christi in vobis operatus est, "nolite legi quæ naturales mores profert, sed fidei, id "est quam per me prædicatam tenetis, magis integri- "tati donare." Si igitur Evangelium Pauli hos mores, scilicet castitatis, eleemosynarum, parcitatis, contemptus mundi, humilitatis, orationis, patientiæ, longanimitatis, fortitudinis, prudentiæ, et cæterarum virtutum, quibus Christiana adornatur conversatio, contineat; et Paulus hoc ipsum Evangelium non accepit ab homine neque didicit, sed per revelationem Jesu Christi, quis eosdem mores non a philosophis aut doctrinis eorum, sed a Christo immediate Paulum suscepisse fateretur?

His gospel embraced not merely or principally the sacraments, but the whole range of Christian virtues.

* * * * *

Ex Cap. XL.

(Compare Repress., pp. 46–48.)

Bury's twelfth conclusion. Pecock's works are more to be detested by faithful people than those of Mahomet or of any heretic whatever. The necessity of the conclusion arises partly from their simplicity, partly from his craftiness, as expressed in the three following arguments.

Duodecima conclusio est ista: Summe cavendi sunt et detestandi laicis fidelibus libri quos Scripturæ adversarius edidit, citiusque Machometi, Sabellii, Arii, Wiclyfi, cujus alteriusve damnati hominis, quam hujus hæretici intuerentur opuscula. Veritas hæc tum ex imbecillitate credentis populi tum ex malitia callidi concipitur adversarii. Ex tribus enim, ut frequenter, contingit populum decipi; primo quidem ex novitate doctrinæ; secundo ex famosa dicentis auctoritate; et tertio ex fraudulenta suavitate blandientis erroris. Errores namque Gentilium veteresque sectæ et hæreses publico despectui ubique tenentur; unde minus nocent, quoniam jacula[1] eorum jaculis providentiæ retusa sunt.

* * * * *

The first argument. The novelty of Pecock's error easily captivates the unwary and simple. His doctrine of human reason, unheard of for ages, is only too flattering to human pride. St. John's flight from the bath in which he beheld Cerinthus is an example warning us to avoid contact with all heretical doctrines.

Nova vero iniquitas pusillorum animos facile contaminat. "Sæpe," (inquit unus), "viatorem nova non "vetus orbita fallit;" propter quod prima ad Timotheum 6°, Sanctus Paulus Timotheum consulit, dicens: *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et opiniones falsi nominis scientiæ, quam quidam pronunciantes circa fidem erraverunt.* Sane hujus Sanctæ Scripturæ adversarii non saltem effrenissimos inter hæreticos hucusquam temeraria cognita assertio est. Cautius igitur tanti serpentis insidias prævisuri sumus, qui postremo jam in fine sæculorum ecclesiæ Christi calcaneo infaustas demolitur fraudes. Et quanquam pia, quanquam sancta, fidelia, divinaque impiissimis suis dogmata interserat opusculis; non verebimur eum falsi erroris arguere defensorem. Ubique enim apud eum laudatur ratio, velut omnis exsors ignorantiæ. Ubique in morum[2] regulis et divino cultu, quod a sæculis auditum non est,

[1] *iacule*, MS. | [2] *modum*, MS.

hæc ipsa ratio naturalis Sacræ Scripturæ documentis præfertur : adeo ut ritus et ipsæ sacramentorum incomprehensibiles virtutes ab ipsis humanis potius quam revelatis veritatibus confirmentur. Hujus primitias erroris iste sacramentorum contemptor literarum[1] [ope] studuit invenire,[2] ut, dum philosophiam commendaret mortalium, dulcissimis mendaciis de naturali lege multa commentans pronos ad malum sensus sibi alliceret humanos. Consulendum piis mentibus est, ut fiant longe a tabernaculis tanti adversarii, et quæ satellites ejus mellito propinant calamo, aut venena aut certe venenata esse cognoscant. Quid vero eis faciendum sit, Sanctus Johannes operis attestatione persuadet, de quo in *Glossa super* 2ª *Canonica Johannis* ita scribitur : *Cum Johannes apud Ephesum balnea lavandi gratia* [*intravisset*], *et vidisset Cerinthum, foras exiliit, dicens:* " *Fugiamus hinc; ne balnea ipsa corrumpant nos in* " *quibus lavatur Cerinthus, veritatis inimicus.*"[3] Noverat amicus Christi Johannes balnea bona esse, quæ tamen refugit, ne balneato Cerintho loci saltem vicinitate participaret. Spernantur ab omnibus (inquam) novelli hujus hæretici documenta. Nam etsi cara, preciosa, dulcisque catholicis interdum ejus doctrina sentiatur, apud bonos, sanctos, atque eruditiores patres studendum erit, qui licet non se ut hæreticus iste collaudent, non minus a Deo judice collaudantur. *Qui gloriatur* (ait Paulus), *in Domino glorietur: non enim qui seipsum commendat ille probatus est, sed quem Deus commendat.* Et Ethnicus Cato,[4] *Nec te collaudes,* inquit.

Insuper ut secundo diximus loco, ipsa dicentis auctoritas simplices viros facile in errorem mittet. Isaiæ 19° : *Decepernnt Ægyptum angeli populorum.* Et

Pecock's exalted station in the Church is another cause of error to the common people.

[1] This word (as it seems) is obscurely written on an erasure.

[2] So the MS., but *munire* would make a better sense.

[3] Gloss. Ordin. in S. Joh. Ep. ii. in Bibl. N. de Lyra, tom. 5, fol. 236. Lugd. 1529. Irenæus (Lib. iii. c. 3) is the original authority for this story.

[4] Dion. Cat. *Distich.* Lib. ii., c. 16. (vol. i., p. 120. Ed. Amst. 1759.)

Daniel 13°.: *A senioribus populi, qui videbantur regere populum, egressa est iniquitas.* Ipsa enim ovina pellis transfigurato lupo totius gregis ruina est.

* * * * *

Sunt et infatuati sales mittendi foras et conculcandi ab hominibus. At quoniam rudis populus et simplex turba fidelium tantarum rerum non novit doctrinas, fieri potest, si hujus dicta adversarii legerint aut audierint, ut tamen dicentis auctoritate, tamenque dictorum novitate percussi, lucem pro tenebris et pro luce tenebras insano profiteantur more.

The deceitful sweetness of his doctrines is another cause. And yet they are so mischievous that they strike at the very root of Christianity.

Namque fraudulentissima suavitas erroris sui, prout tertio ostendendum diximus, de facili illiteratos etiam seducit. Quid enim suavius dici potest hominibus, quam quod ratio naturalis de se, id est, neque per Spiritum edocta nec informata per Scripturas, suo jure ac propria valeat industria virtutibus perfici et Deo perfecte famulari; et quis hæreticorum ab exordio tanto furore excanduit adversus Spiritum veritatis? Fuerunt qui inviolabilis fidei supremum corruperunt verticem, ineffabili detrahentes Trinitati.

* * * * *

Solus autem iste ad proceræ hujus arboris[1] illibatæ fidei radices securim mittere præsumpsit. Tolle Scripturarum certissimam constantissimamque sinceritatem, et quid de Christo habes? Quid de Deo sentis, quomodo Trisagion, aut Homoüsion tibi sonant? Quæ sacramentorum remedia; quæ redemptionis virtus; quæ bonorum merces; quæ malorum afflictio cognoscitur?

* * * * *

Pecock's philosophy rejects all authority of sacred or profane authors, and has no stable foundation to rest upon.

A quo te sequentes concilium præstolantur adepturi? Non mittis ad Isocratem, non ad Platonem, non ad Aristotelem, qui principes in doctrina morum ab hominibus computantur. Apostolos item et apostolicos recusas viros, patriarcharum et prophetarum sensus non admittis. Moralis igitur philosophia et universum rationis judicium in solo tui pectoris domicilio

[1] *arboris ad*, MS.

quiescunt. Quanta perversitas est, tanta temporum damnare curricula, tot utriusque scientiæ, divinæ scilicet et humanæ, peritissimos homines sapientissimosque bonorum et optimorum morum institutiones et præcepta latere protestari. Avulsa est, (dicerem magis, repudiata est,) a pedibus tuis ipsa securæ veritatis petra. Tua utique nil certum, nil stabile pollicetur philosophia. Numquid audisti, *Multifarie multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis, novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio?* Quomodo Paulus "multifarie multisque modis loquentem Deum "patribus in prophetis," quomodo "novissime loquentem "eum in Filio" novit, si non ut alter Moyses in petram Sanctæ Scripturæ pedes fixisset suos? Quæ præsertim ea sunt, quæ inter mille similia Deus locutus est. Audiant catholici, audiant fideles, sed etiam me tacente, audiant eum qui loquentem Dominum audierat: *Notas mihi fecisti, inquit, vitæ vias, adimplebis me lætitia cum vultu tuo.*" Quæ litera sic ab Augustino discutitur:[1] *Ipse notas mihi fecit vias vitæ, cum me docuit fidem, misericordiam, justitiam, caritatem, his enim itineribus pervenitur ad salutem.*

* * * * *

Sarcasms on Pecock's vanity and self-commendation.

Odibilis est Deo qui sophistice loquitur. Si idcirco ratio hujus hominis aut illius philosophiæ moralis statutas adinvenit regulas; cujus hujus quæso? Liber *Donati* tui, liber tuæ *Religionis Christianæ*, liber *Imitatoris Donati* tui, liber *Impletionis quatuor tabularum* tuarum, liber *Adorationis* tuæ, liber tuæ *Dignæ et justæ appreciationis Scripturæ Sanctæ*, liber quem appellas *Provocatorem Christianorum*, hunc hominem quem quærimus non produnt; quem, neglectis Scripturis Sanctis, in tanta philosophia cultores Dei fideles, (ut dicis,) obtinerent patronum. Quid

[1] The words of Augustine on Ps. xv. 11. are, Notas fecisti per me humilitatis vias ut ad vitam redirent homines unde per superbiam ceciderant, in quibus quia ego sum *mihi fecisti.* (Op. tom. iv., p. 54.) Possibly, however, this text may be explained by Augustine elsewhere.

dices? Annon respondebis? Quis memorandus homo ille est, qui accommodissima, ut dicere soles, hæc dogmata mortalibus suis lucubratiunculis perquisivit? Cujus hominis vivacissima extat ratio hæc, tot tamque multiplices veritates ex nullius philosophorum catholicorumve, sed sui[1] solius proferens thesauris? Abutaris verbo prophetæ. Dic, quia et dixisti: *Ecce ego mitto me.* Sane Aristoteles virtutem non a ratione quacunque, sed a recta ratione pendere decrevit, prout determinaret sapiens. An non tu sapiens, dicens: *Ecce ego mitto me?* "Mecum sapientia est, mecum "prudentia, mecum virtus, immo et omnium virtutum "singularis solaque gubernatrix ratio. In me omnis "spes vitæ et virtutis. Opuscula mea legite; utilia "sunt; necessaria sunt." Tantundem pene de te, qualiter et Salomon de sapientia Dei cecinit, sentis. *Transite* (ait)[2] *ad me, omnes qui concupiscitis me; et a generationibus meis adimplemini. Spiritus enim meus super mel dulcis, et hereditas mea super mel et favum.* Si sapiens sis, dum hæc alta de te sentis, non Salomoni, non Apostolo, non Augustino sapientem te esse cognovimus.

The authors of the Old and New Testaments sought wisdom from God not from human philosophy, like Pecock.

Salomon donis repletus naturæ et rationis humanæ, omni pollens gloria, non a fontibus philosophiæ, sed a puteo aquarum viventium, quæ fluunt impetu de Libano virtutem ipsam degustare concupivit. *Da mihi,* (inquit,)[3] *Domine, sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam, ut mecum sit et mecum laboret, ut sciam quod acceptum sit coram te omni tempore.* Frustra nempe sic orare videretur, si interior sibi et naturalis ratio, quicquid acceptum coram Deo esset propria dictaret lege. Et Paulus prima ad Cor. 2°: *Non enim judicavi me scire aliquid inter vos, nisi Jesum Christum, et hunc crucifixum. Et ego in infirmitate et timore et tremore multo fui apud vos; et sermo meus et prædicatio mea non in persuasi-*

[1] *sue,* MS.
[2] Ecclus. xxiv. 26, 27.
[3] Sap. ix. 4.

bilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in ostensione Spiritus et virtutis; ut fides vestra non in sapientia sit hominum, sed in virtute Dei. Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos.

Similarly St. Augustine.

Item Augustinus *De Libero Arbitrio: Non aliam putes esse sapientiam, nisi veritatem in qua cernitur et tenetur summum bonum, quod nullo loco est, nusquam deest, foris admonet, intus docet, cernentes in se omnes in melius commutat, a nullo in deterius commutatur. Nullus de illa judicat, nullus sine illa bene judicat.*[1] Si Salomonem audis, quomodo scis quid acceptum sit coram Deo, si non sapientia, quam prædicant Scripturæ, tibi astiterit? Si Paulum audieris, quomodo quæso crucifixum Jesum in persuasibilibus annuntias humanæ sapientiæ verbis, et ponis fidem in sapientia hominum? Quomodo, si Augustinum audieris, sapientia qua cernitur summum bonum, de qua nullus judicat, et sine qua nullus bene judicat, arundineæ mortalis hominis rationi subjacebit? Quæ pestis hac tua hæresi crudelior?

* * * * *

Peacock is the "abomination of desolation" spoken of by Daniel the prophet.

Nec tamen ex improviso nostris advenisti sæculis. Suspicor quia de te sollicitos fideles suos Christus effecit, ubi aiebat: *Cum videritis abominationem desolationis stantem in loco sancto, qui legit intelligat.* Impia igitur nimis tua conclusio duodecima est.

* * * * *

Ex Cap. XLII.

(Compare Repress., pp. 48–51.)

Bury's thirteenth conclusion. Since moral philosophy is a particular theology, and Scripture a general theology, we may reasonably

Tertia decima conclusio est ista: Cum philosophia moralis sit quædam particularis theologia, merito quicquid in ea fundatur, perfectius id ipsum in Sacra Scriptura quæ est generalis theologia potest reperiri, ideoque rationabiliter de omni eo quæritur, quod

[1] Compare Lib. iii. § 26 and 38. (Op. tom. I, pp. 441–446.)

inquire concerning all moral doctrines, where they are founded in Scripture. Proof of the conclusion. Every thing relating to partial perfection subsists more perfectly in a whole than in a part.

ad mores spectat, ubi scilicet in Scripturis fundetur. Suaderi quippe taliter hæc valeret conclusio pro prima parte. Sicut illa scriptura dicitur *theologia generalis*, per quam omnifarie actus humani diriguntur in Deum, ita illa scriptura *particularis theologia* nuncupabitur, per quam sic vel sic dicti regulantur actus; sed generaliter et omnifarie per Sacram Scripturam, per philosophiam vero moralem,[1] sic vel sic, id est, modo tali tantum, contingit humanos actus regulari, ut in prima conclusione nostra et sexta declaratur; quare verum erit philosophiam moralem particularem quandam theologiam esse.

* * * * *

Hoc autem dato, cum omne id quod respicit perfectionem partialem, perfectius in toto, quam in parte subsistat, quicquid in philosophia morali (quæ est particularis theologia) fundatur, id ipsum perfectius in Sacra Scriptura (quæ est generalis theologia) poterit reperiri.

The same conclusion is arrived at from three other considerations; and first from this, that the ultimate ends of moral philosophy and of Scriptural philosophy are different, the one being man's temporal, the other his eternal happiness.

Quod quidem triplici alia ratione ostendere possumus, primo per comparationem finium ad quos mores ordinantur; secundo per comparationem objectorum a quibus specificantur; et tertio per comparationem luminum, in quibus agnoscuntur. Qualiter enim omnes mores perfectissime in Scripturis edocentur, primo ex comparatione elucescit finium. Nam sicut finis morum adquisitorum sub fine constituitur morum desuper infusorum, ita mores sub moribus; habitus enim, perfectiones, et essentias ex finibus sortiuntur.

* * * * *

Nunc autem per virtutes adquisitas in philosophia morali mortalis et peregrinans hominum vita ad quoddam bonum humanum tanquam ad proprium finem ordinata est. Sed per virtutes infusas quas Sacra Scriptura docet, ipsa eadem vita velut finem debitum

---

[1] *per Sacram Scripturam et per scripturæ philosophicam vero moralem*, MS.

bonum supra hominem, bonum scilicet infinitum respicit; ut homo per eas videlicet civis cœlorum constituatur et domesticus Dei, qui est finis simpliciter humanæ vitæ.

* * * * *

Secundo hoc ipsum evidet ex comparatione objectorum. Cum vero virtus sit ultimum potentiæ, potentiæ vero distinguntur per actus, et actus per objecta, manifestum est etiam virtutes (cujusmodi sunt universi mores) per objecta distingui. Objectum quidem virtutis cujuslibet est bonum consideratum in propria materia; sic objectum tactus est bonum delectabile in concupiscentiis tactus. Cujus objecti formalis ratio a ratione pullulat quæ instruit modum in his concupiscentiis, sive ab aliquo quod perfectius quam ratio naturalis in eisdem concupiscentiis modum præbet, quale est ipsa divina revelatio. Materiale vero est id quod est ex parte concupitorum tangibilium, ut cibus, liber, pecunia, vel quid simile. Clarum est utique quoniam alterius naturæ formaliter est modus impositus in his concupiscentiis, circa quas mores hominum sunt, secundum regulam humanæ rationis; et alius, secundum regulam divinæ inspirationis.

Secondly, the objects of moral and of Christian virtues are different.

Exempli gratia, abstinentia, virtus ut adquisita est, hoc a ratione habet, ut modum ponat inspirationi ciborum et potuum ne noceant humanæ valetudini; hæc itidem, ut infusa, castigat corpus et in servitutem redigit. Modus primæ abstinentiæ a ratione, modus secundæ a revelatione imponitur; secunda autem nedum perfectior judicatur quam prima eo quod perfectioris objecti, sed eo etiam quod omnis perfectionis ratio, quæ in prima, supereminenter in secunda reperitur.

Exemplification of this in the difference between a moral or acquired and a Christian or infused abstinence; the standard of the one being human health, of the other the bringing of the body into subjection.

Sic temperantia adquisita a venereis distrahit propter bonum hominis tantum; infusa, propter regnum cœlorum. Hanc Christus tetigisse visus est ubi dicebat: *Sunt eunuchi qui seipsos castraverunt propter regnum cœlorum.*

Similarly of continence.

Fortitudo etiam adquisita passiones timoris cohibet

And of fortitude.

et mortis angustias, quas sensus exterior ministrat, ratione. Sed infusa non sic adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed "adversus principatus et potestates contra "spirituales nequitias in cœlestibus" docet militare; si quidem talis penes objecta ordo consideratur inter virtutes adquisitas et infusas, qualis inter adquisitas et animales est.

Fortitude in man of three kinds, animal, human, and divine: the second includes the first, and the third includes the other two. And so universally the objects of Christian virtues include the objects of the moral ones.

Fortiter enim bellare competit homini tripliciter, primo quia animal, secundo quia homo, tertio quia servus peculiaris Dei. Nam quia animal, habet ut adversantia repellat; quia homo, ut ea repellat, non semper sed ut oportet, secundum temporis et loci et adversantis congruentiam: aliter enim temerarius homo dicitur et non fortis. Quia vero servus Dei peculiaris, nedum has circumstantias considerat, quas ratio ut communiter solet edocere, sed etiam modum illum quem sola sibi revelatio præstitit. Sicut igitur trigonus in tetragono, et tetragonus in pentagono, ita virtus animalis in acquisita, et adinquisita in[1] infusa continetur, secundum earundem objectorum ordinem et considerationem.

Thirdly, a comparison of the light of revelation with the light of reason shows that all human virtue is contained in Scripture in the most perfect manner. The perfection of the light of revelation described.

Tertio etiam quomodo universæ virtutes et mores hominum perfectissime in Sacra Scriptura continentur, ex comparatione datur intelligi luminis revelationis et luminis naturalis rationis. Qualis autem et quanta sit perfectio luminis revelationis ex verbis Dionysii colligitur in libro *De Divinis Nominibus: Deus* (inquit) *qui est essentialiter bonus, nominatur intelligibile lumen,* (Joh. 8°: *Ego sum lux mundi*), *propter hoc quod implet omnem supercœlestem mentem* (id est, angelicam), *intelligibili lumine* (quod nihil est aliud quam cognitio veritatis); *ab omnibus etiam animabus quibus innascitur expellit omnem ignorantiam et errorem.*[2] *Ignorantia,* ait Sanctus Thomas, *ad remo-*

[1] *et in*, MS.

[2] See Pseudo-Dionys. Arcop. De Div. Nom. c. iv. § 5, tom. i. p. 557. Ed. Cord. The quotation from St. John and the words included in parentheses are not in the text of Dionysius.

tionem pertinet veritatis, sed error ad inhæsionem falsitatis. Unde 2ª Pet. 1°: *Habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem, cui benefacitis attendentes, quasi lucernæ ardenti in caliginoso loco, donec dies elucescat, et oriatur in cordibus vestris.* Hoc autem de angelis non dixit, in quibus ignorantia et error non habent locum, licet in eis sit quædam nescientia.

* * * * *

The light of reason is obscured by clouds of ignorance, insomuch that little certainty is to be obtained. The wisest philosophers have fallen into the grossest errors. The light of Scripture alone can dissipate this ignorance, and consequently it is the surest guide to all human virtue.

Sane mentium humanarum ac ipsorum divinorum spirituum non magna foret in intelligendo disparitas, si tetra nubes ignorantiæ splendidum rationis lumen non obduceret; hæc inquam sola omnium hominum sententias et sapientissimorum judicia mortalium erroris suspicione replevit. Adeo ut vix mathematicalia certitudine polleant, cætera vero et præsertim quæ ex humanis arbitriis captant vigorem, vacillanti et timorosa opinione doceantur. Quid nisi ratio humana Socratem, et Platonem, cæteramque philosophorum [turbam] in moribus direxit? Quorum primi omnia in civitatibus communia esse voluerunt; sic enim unitatem maximam in ea promiserunt obsistere. Insuper uxores statuerunt civibus esse communes, et bellicis rebus exercitandas voluerunt. Ratione etiam ductus est Phaleas[1] ut æquales civium possessiones consistere debere monstraret. Rursus Hippodamus et Solon pellices[2] juxta rationis leges instruxerunt. Quos omnes Aristoteles, in *Politicis* libro secundo, velut ignorantiæ tenebris convincit palpitantes.[3] Compertum igitur est lumen rationis tenebris confundi ignorantiæ, quas lumen revelationis prorsus effugat. Ex his sic argui posset: Universi mores hominum aut infusi aut adquisiti sunt; utrumque autem genus morum perfectissime in Sacra Scriptura traditur; igitur perfectissime de moribus universis traditur in eadem.

---

[1] *Felleas*, MS.

[2] *polliceas*, MS. The correction is certain. See Harpocr. s. v. *πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη*, but it does not appear on what authority the remark is made of Hippodamus.

[3] See Aristot. *Politic.* lib. ii. capp. 1, 4, 5, 9.

Scripture teaches not only the infused but also the acquired virtues in the most perfect manner, and is, therefore, the most perfect guide to all virtue.

Secunda autem præmissarum de eo quod ad mores infusos spectat, palam est; sed et quod genus virtutum et morum adquisitorum perfectissime traditur in Scriptura Sancta sic ostenditur. Quicquid monstratur perfecte modo suo in lumine rationis, quod vix alioquin perspicuum est propter invincibilis tenebras ignorantiæ; si cognoscatur in lumine revelationis excludentis omnem dictæ ignorantiæ caliginem, perfectius et perfectissime cognoscitur; hoc autem contingit illi generi morum qui adquisiti dicuntur; igitur generaliter mores isti in lumine revelationis perfectissime cognoscentur. Minor hujus argumenti ex Ambrosio, Hieronymo, et Augustino sumitur. . . .

* * * * *

Proof from St. Augustine that everything necessary to salvation is contained in Scripture.

After quoting Ambrose and Jerome, he proceeds thus: Insuper Augustinus (ut prætactum est respondendo ad quartum argumentum primæ conclusionis) in libro *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, sic habet: *Nihil utiliter prædicamus ad salutem, quod Sancta Scriptura Spiritus Sancti miraculo fecundata non protulerit, aut intra se non contineat.*[1] Non immerito igitur, cum universi mores hominum in Sancta Scriptura doceantur modo excellentissimo ac perfectissimo, de singulis eorum interrogare congruit, ubi aut qua parte in Sacra dicta Scriptura ipsi fundationem admittant.

Pecock's thirteenth conclusion is therefore false.

Dicemus igitur tertiam decimam conclusionem adversarii Scripturarum veritatis omnino vacuam esse, quod scilicet æque rationabiliter quæritur ubi singuli mores aut ubi singulæ conclusiones et veritates morales fundentur in Sacra Scriptura, sicut irrationabiliter quæreretur ubi conclusiones grammaticales in eadem fundarentur Scriptura.

* * * * *

Bury then concludes his work by answering Pecock's thirteenth conclusion at great length, the substance,

---

[1] The passage does not occur in the treatise named

however, of his argument is comprised in the following paragraph :

Cum theologia sit doctrina omnium morum per quos humana vita dirigitur in Deum, non excedit se ubi mores illos instruit, qui naturali possent industria comparari. Sed neque moralis philosophia suos excedit fines, dum naturalis rationis virtutes et legis naturæ judicia atque regimina in se fundata esse demonstrat. Theologiæ enim proprium est, de omnibus moribus judicare : (*Spiritualis vir*, inquit Paulus, *omnes dijudicat et a nemine judicatur*) ; philosophiæ [autem] moralis de adquisitis tantum.

Scripture does not exceed its proper bounds when it teaches even those virtues which human industry might discover, as it is its province to teach all virtues without exception.

* * * * *

"ABBREVIATIO REGINALDI PECOK,"

BEING

A VINDICATION OF HIS SERMON AT PAUL'S CROSS.

(MS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. n. 117, fol. 11-13, sæc. xv.)

Pecock's statement to Archbishop Stafford respecting his sermon preached in 1447 at St. Paul's Cross, and the offence which it had occasioned. He offers to meet his opponents face to face.

Reverendissime in Christo pater et domine, domine Johannes, Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscope et totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ sedis legate :[1] Ego Reginaldus Assavensis episcopus, sacræ paginæ professor, coram vobis dico et allego quod nuper propter causas rationabiles me moventes posui et tenui ac in scriptis publicavi apud Crucem Sancti Pauli in civitate Londoniensi quasdam conclusiones veras, sanctas, rectas, et orthodoxas, prædicari[2] multum necessarias, quarum tenores statim inferius perlegentur. Quibus conclusionibus aut saltem earum quibusdam plurimi (ut dicitur) contradixerunt. Aliqui asserendo illas esse falsas immo hæreticas, et aliqui asserendo illas esse sophisticas et continentes intra se terminos incompetentes et indebitos, ut dicitur in magnam mentium inquietationem plurimarum, et præcipue in ista civitate London. Quapropter vestram reverendissimam paternitatem et vestrum officium imploro et peto, ut proclamari nunc faciatis an aliquis ipsis conclusionibus aut earundem aliquibus velit facere se contradictorem. Et si aliquis offerat se obicem[3] ipsis conclusionibus obiciendum ; peto me ad sibi respondendum in scriptis

---

[1] *legatus*, MS.
[2] *prædicavi*, MS.
[3] *obicem ad*, MS.

de die in diem admitti. Quod si nullus hujusmodi contradictor inveniatur, vos auctoritate vestra pronuncietis illas conclusiones pro ista vice non habere contradictorem. Insuper peto quod ex tunc declaretis illas (prout sunt) esse veras et rectas et non sophisticas nec verba habentes incompetentia, saltem postquam coram vestra reverentia fundaverim et probaverim ipsas sufficienter ad finem et effectum, ut populus quantum ad istas conclusiones reponatur in quietem et pacem. *Explicit præfatio.*

The heads of the discourse.

Conclusiones Reginaldi Pecock.

Tenores conclusionum sunt isti:

No one can prove that bishops are bound to preach to the common people by virtue of their office.

(i.) Prima conclusio est hæc. Nullus hominum scit probare quod episcopus in quantum est episcopus et pro quanto est episcopus obligatur ad prædicandum in sua propria persona vulgari populo suæ diocesis. Istis terminis et "ad prædicandum" sumptis in suis famosissimis significationibus.[1]

Bishops ought not to consider themselves so bound.

(ii.) Secunda conclusio est hæc. Episcopi non reputarent seipsos esse obligatos ad prædicandum in propriis personis suis vulgari populo suarum diocesum in quantum et pro quanto ipsi sunt episcopi supra alios curatos. Sed episcopi reputarent se esse liberos ab isto onere. Istis terminis "episcopi" et "ad prædicandum" et aliis terminis in hac conclusione sumptis in suis famosissimis significationibus.

Bishops, *quà* bishops, ought to have more knowledge of divinity and of difficult

(iii). Tertia conclusio est hæc. Episcopi in quantum sunt episcopi debent habere abundantiorem Christianæ religionis notitiam in materiis quas inferiores

[1] Gascoigne, referring to this position of Pecock (*Dict. Theol.* MS. vol. 2, p. 593), says: "Et causam istam reddidit, dicens: Dionysius papa divisit parochias ab episcopatibus et dedit curam animarum rectoribus et curatis immediatis ecclesiarum parochialium, et tunc, ut dixit ille Pecok episcopus, ille papa Dionysius disoneravit episcopos ab onere prædicandi in suis diœcesibus," &c.

curati tenentur populo prædicare aut docere, atque debent habere majorem scientiam ad respondendum ac solvendum difficiles quæstiones quam est requisita haberi ab immediatis inferioribus curatis in quantum ipsi sunt inferiores et immediati curati.

questions than the inferior clergy.

(iv.) Quarta conclusio est hæc. Episcopi habent potestatem ad assumendum et resumendum sibi et ad iterum dimittendum quando eis placet exercitium et opus prædicationis ad populum, quemadmodum habent potestatem ad assumendum et resumendum sibi quodcunque aliud opus curæ pertinens immediato curato, quando eis placet; ita quod perinde episcopi non impediantur a meliore opere suarum ordinariarum curarum pro illa vice ab illis debito adimpleri, et quod opus ab illo immediato curato non potest ordinarie impleri.

Bishops may assume and lay down at will any of the functions of the inferior clergy, such as preaching, &c.; provided these do not interfere with their higher duties.

(v.) Quinta conclusio est ista. Episcopi possunt propter diversas causas absentare se a suis diocesibus et fieri non ibidem residentes excusabiliter et meritorie et allocabiliter penes Deum durante toto tempore illarum causarum.

Divers causes may excuse bishops from residence in their dioceses.

(vi.) Sexta conclusio est hæc. Magis expediens opus potest Christianorum animabus impendi quam est opus prædicationis, isto vocabulo prædicationis capto in sua propriissima et famosissima significatione.

Bishops have more important duties to discharge than mere preaching.

(vii.) Septima conclusio est hæc. Neque papa neque episcopi Anglicani sunt simoniaci in hoc et per hoc, quod ipsi recipiunt suos episcopatus a papa per provisionem et solvunt papæ primos fructus suorum episcopatuum.

Neither papal provisions to bishoprics, nor payments of *annates* to the pope, are simoniacal.

Præterea ne videatur aliquibus quod prædicatio istarum conclusionum fuit non necessaria et quod non fuit rationabilibus causis fulcita, sed[1] quod sapiunt magis curiositatem quam utilitatem seu necessitatem, ecce causæ quæ me movebant ad formandum, tenendum, publicandum dictas conclusiones erant istæ:

Pecock's motives in preaching his sermon. Scandals had unjustly arisen against non-preaching and non-resident bishops, whose influence was thus diminished

[1] *et sed*, MS.

and whose character ought to be cleared.

Prima videlicet hæc; contraria vel opposita quarundum ipsarum conclusionum a retroactis temporibus erant a plurimis viris opinata et in pulpitis sæpe prædicata. Unde episcopi non prædicantes populo, et episcopi a suis diocesibus propter rationabiles causas absentes detractionibus vulgi crebrissimis subjacebant, ac suis subditis vilescebant a quibus debuissent revereri. Immo et ad corripiendum, mandandum, regulandum suos subditos ipsi erant tanto inhabiliores seu tanto impotentiores effecti; quanto in tantam infamiam secundum reputationem hominum fuerant dejecti. Quod nullus sapiens negabit esse malum digne et merito remediandum, cum indignarum personarum succurrendum est infamiæ; et ideo multo magis infamiæ episcoporum.

Some of the bishops themselves, moreover, were perplexed with groundless scruples.

Insuper et pro secunda causa. In multis episcopis perinde generabatur scrupulosa conscientia quasi super sua obligatione in qua tamen secundum veritatem ipsi non erant obligati; quod maxime periculosum erat illis, potissime cito et statim morituris.

The laity, in fine, fell into disaffection towards the bishops through holding the false opinions here refuted. These were the motives why the sermon was preached, not any wish to interfere with the due discharge of the office of preaching, which the sermon, on the contrary, intended to encourage.

Tertia causa erat, quia laici etiam in tam sinistre et temerarie de episcopis judicando et perinde in malas et indignas affectiones incidendo aut a bonis et debitis affectionibus recedendo suas animas sæpissime fœdaverunt, et in peccatis se involverunt. Et exemplo plane constat quod per publicationem mearum dictarum conclusionum, cum nullus eas improbare quiverit, omnia recitata mala et plurima alia tam impediri quam extirpari necesse est; hinc propter istas causas conclusiones meas formavi, posui, tenui, et publicavi. Quas causas esse rationabiles et sanctas ac digne moventes ut ipsæ conclusiones ponerentur, prædicarentur, et publicarentur, nullus (ut æstimo) negabit vir sapiens et discretus. Maxime ex quo nullum præjudicium, nullum impedimentum, nulla diminutio officii prædicationis per ipsas conclusiones eveniet; sed major frequentatio, verior et famosior elocutio, et largior pro-

fectus per prædicationes ad populum ratione illarum conclusionum provenire valebit, prout satis clare patebit in quodam libro *De Prædicatione* super ipsis conclusionibus scribendo.[1] Hæc coram paternitate vestra ad præsens propono et allego, reservans mihi potestatem ad agendum et prosequendum et ad obtinendum alias coram vobis aut in curia audientiæ vestræ aut alibi (prout mihi justum visum fuerit) remedia contra gravamina mihi a quibuscunque illata, et ad impugnandum falsa documenta nuper in pulpitis seminata. *Explicit.*

---

[1] *lucebit satis clare* follows in MS., but is cancelled by dots placed over the words.

EXTRACT

FROM

GASCOIGNE'S THEOL. DICT. MS. Vol. II. (Lincoln Coll. Oxon. pp. 597-599.)[1]

Pecock's abjuration at Paul's Cross, Dec. 4, 1457, before Archbishop Bourchier His books publicly burnt there His erroneous and conceited opinions. Sent to Canterbury and thence to Maidstone, after his abjuration

Et causa suæ confusionis fuit quod vituperavit dicta et scripta sanctorum doctorum Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Augustini, et Gregorii et aliorum, et parum vel nihil ponderavit de eis nisi probarent scripta sua ratione, ut ipse Pecock dixit sæpe et scripsit; et audiente doctore Thoma Eboral dixit *Vath!* de dictis eorundem[2] Hieronymi et Augustini; unde incidit in ruinam magnam. Deus pro sua misericordia nunc illuminet nos et eum gratia sua. Plures ei adhærentes et oleo adulationis eum unguentes coram eo et in ejus absentia vocabant eum maximum scientificum mundi. *Popule meus* (inquit Deus per Isaiam), *qui te beatum dicunt ipsi te decipiunt.* Ipse enim Pecok episcopus Cicestrensis anno Domini Jesu 1457, secunda dominica adventus Domini, quæ fuit quarto[3] die Decembris, in præsentia 20,000 hominum inductus in habitu episcopali ad pedes archiepiscopi Cantuariensis domini Thomæ Boucer, et episcopi Londoniensis Kemp, et episcopi Roffensis Low, doctoris

[1] This extract follows immediately after the words "mensis Decembris" in Hearne's Extracts in the Appendix to Hemingford, vol. 2, p. 548, l. 29.

[2] *eorum*, MS.

[3] *quarta*, MS.

in theologia Oxoniæ, et episcopi Dunelmiensis, abjuravit ibi sua scripta et conclusiones suas scriptas abjuratas per eum pridie in manerio archiepiscopi Cantuariensis de Lamheth in præsentia 24 doctorum in theologia, et tres magnos libros suos erroneos, cum undecim aliis in quaternis existentes, tradidit cuidam viro propriis manibus, qui igni ingenti ibidem præparato committeret, et sic factum tunc fuit Londoniis in cœmeterio ecclesiæ cathedralis sanctissimi Pauli apostoli Jesu Christi. Et dixit etiam idem episcopus Pecok publice, "*Superbia mea et præsumptio mea* "*induxerunt me ad hæc mala et opprobria.*" Et postea archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Thomas Bourcer mandavit eum ad Madiston judicium expectaturum. Iste Pecok episcopus, qui Wallicus origine fuit, quondam socius in collegio de Oriel in Oxonia, vocavit in scriptis suis prædicatores publicos *clamatores in pulpitis.* Ipse enim episcopus Pecok actum prædicandi postquam fuit episcopus non frequentabat, et quando revocavit conclusiones suas erroneas et hæreticas ad Crucem S. Pauli apostoli, fama fuit si ipse descendisset ad ignem, in quo libri sui comburebantur, populus ibi eum projecisset in illum ignem. O Domine Deus, qui "posuisti terram quondam fructiferam in "salsuginem pro malitia habitantium in ea" (Ps. 106), tu scis omnia, tu enim scis qualiter iste idem Pecok episcopus vituperavit et indigne appretiavit dicta et scripta SS. doctorum S. Hieronymi, S. Ambrosii, S. Augustini, S. Gregorii papæ, et aliorum sanctorum et doctorum. Unde ipse vituperator illorum sanctorum merito vituperabatur a millibus hominum, et ego vocatus magister Thomas Gascoigne, doctor theologiæ et cancellarius Oxoniæ, credo firmiter quod ipse episcopus Pecok qui ita vilipendit scripta SS. doctorum Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Augustini, et Gregorii, et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum, merito fuit a millibus hominum in sua præsentia existentibus verecundatus.

Fatuus est enim homo qui sagittat, ut destruat solem; sic fatuus fuit ille Pecok qui verba evomebat contra SS. doctores Hieronymum, Ambrosium, et alios sanctos patres et eorum scripta; nam sagittæ suæ contra scripta eorum emissæ ceciderunt super caput ipsius sagittantis, quando justo Dei judicio errores suos et hæreses et libros suos proprios abjuravit, et ipsos comburi optavit et præcepit coram Cruce S. Pauli Londoniis anno Christi 1457, quarto die Decembris, in quo fuit tunc secunda dominica adventus Domini; et sic in eodem loco ubi ipse Pacok[2] episcopus Cicestrensis prædicaverat prius, quod episcopi non tenentur prædicare populo suæ diocesis, in eodem loco abjuravit libros suos proprios, in quibus ille magnus horror scriptus est per eum. Et demandatus ad Cantuariam post suam abjurationem dixit:

"Wyt hath wundur that reson not tel kan,[1]
"How a Moder is Mayd and God is Man.
"Leue resone, beleue the wonder.
"Beleue hath mastry, and reson is under."

Disputations held before Archbishop Stafford, at Lambeth, against Pecock's position, that bishops are not bound to preach. His contempt for the authority of the Fathers poured upon his own head. His books burnt at London and Oxford. They contravene several articles of the Apostles' Creed.

Prædictus Pocok[2] episcopus Cicestrensis in tempore archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Stafford nomine, quando in ejus præsentia doctores theologi Oxonienses et Cantabrigienses legebant apud Lamhith publice et sæpe in præsentia ipsius archiepiscopi et ipsius Pecok contra hoc quod ipse Pacok prædicaverat, quod episcopi non tenentur publice prædicare, et sanctorum patrum sanctionibus contra ipsum episcopum Pacok allegatis, respondebat ipse Pacok *Tuch!* (*id est, Vath!*) de dictis doctorum. Et alias sic dixit: *Quare vos non allegatis vosmet, cum estis doctores ut Hieronymus et Augustinus?* Et sic non curavit de scriptis SS. doc-

[1] *kan not tel*, MS. But see *English Chron. from* 1377–1461, p. 77." (Camden Soc. 1855.) The MS. writes "Gascoigne" before the third line, as though he wrote the last couplet. This error has misled Wood.

[2] So the MS.

torum. Ergo justo Dei judicio libri ipsius Pacok fuerunt reprehensi et combusti Londoniis ante Crucem Beati Pauli apostoli; et etiam in generali processione Universitatis Oxoniæ in quadrivio A.D. 1457, 17° die mensis Decembris, in die Sabbati, in præsentia tunc cancellarii Oxoniæ doctoris Thomæ Chaundeler, tunc etiam custodis Novi Collegii Wintoniensis in Oxonia. Plures enim hæreses et errores posuit iste Pacok episcopus in suis libris propriis Anglicanis; quarum aliquæ magnæ hæreses contra symbolum duodecim apostolorum patent in actu suæ abjurationis, quam ipse Pacok episcopus legebat in scriptis ad Crucem S. Pauli, anno Domini prædicto quando libri ejus fuerunt ibi combusti coram XX. millibus hominum et ultra. Lex Angliæ est quod domini parliamenti accusati de magno crimine per duodecim pares suos dominos barones debent pro accusato a crimine ei imposito excusari, vel in crimine sibi imposito finaliter pro reo pronuntiari; sed iste episcopus Pacok, Wallicus nativitate, accusavit sanctos antiquos doctores magnos de falsitate seu insufficientia scriptorum eorundem doctorum, sed nec eis in sancta vita nec in eorum magna scientia et eorum miraculis fuit ipse Pacok probatus eis æqualis. Ideo eos reprobans sagittavit contra solem, et sagitta sua propria justo Dei judicio cecidit super caput proprium ipsius episcopi Cicestrensis Reginaldi Pacock.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

A.

A, An, *prep.* On. 78, 138, 336, where *see* note.

Abide, *v. a.* and *n.*, 238; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Abidith, 204; *pl.* Abiden, 20; *pret.* Abode, 281; *pl.* Aboden, 206; *subj.* Abide, 297; *imp. pl.* Abide, 481; *pres. part.* Abiding, 341; *past part.* Abide, 387.

(1) To remain. 204.

(2) To wait for.

"Whom alle holi men . . . *aboden*." 206.

See also p. 318.

Abie, *v. n.* To suffer punishment. 331.

Abilte. Ability; power. 547.

Áble. Skilful. Lat. *habilis*.

"Thou3 he be *able* into othere deedis." 90.

Abling, *pres. part.* Enabling. 324.

Aboute-writing. The legend of a coin. 140.

Abrode. Abroad; at full length.

"Strei3t *abrode*" (on the cross). 269.

Abstene, *v.a.* and *n.*, 228; *imp. pl.* Abstene, 228; Absteyne, 194; *subj. pl.* Abstene, 228; *pres. part.* Absteyning, 314. To abstain (joined with *vs* or *3ou*; but also *intrans.*, p. 188).

Accepcioun. Acceptance (of persons). 63.

According, *adj.* Fit 324.

Accordingli. Concordantly.

"To gidere, *accordingli*." 94.

Adaunte, 37; *past part.* Adauntid, 51, 150. To put down (presumption, &c.)

Aduoutrie, Avoutrie. Adultery. 64, 506.

Afer. Remotely; by remote reasoning.

"Witnessid *afer* and in general by Holi Scripture." 231.

Affecte, Affect. Affection. Explained by *will*. 94. Pecock (after the school-men, *e.g.*, Henricus Gandavensis in his *Quodlibeta*, passim,) opposes *affect* to *effect*, *i.e.*, the inward feeling to the outward manifestation of it. *See* pp. 510, 511.

Afore barrith, *pres.* of Aforebarre. To prevent. 502. *See* Biforebarre and Forbarre.

After. Behind.

"In the maner *after* before seid," *i.e.*, further back in the book. 164.

A clerical error, however, is to be suspected; and *after* should probably be cancelled.

Aischis. Ashes. 230.

Aknowe, always joined by Pecock with "to be," *e.g.*,

"Is *aknowe* to God," *i.e.*, acknowledges. 343.

See also 149, 300, 472, and Gloss. Chaucer.

Al, 1 (more rarely Alle in *sing.*, 331); *pl.* Alle, 8 (more rarely Al, 70.) All. (The form "all" occurs p. 422, but is corrected to "alle." *See also* p. 342.)

More peculiar usages:

(1) Every.

"*Al* thing that entrith." 465.

(2) Both.

"With *alle* the knees." 204, 206.

(but perhaps for "all on their knees.")

Position in the sentence:

(1) "The *al* fulnes." 313.
(2) "The *al* hool substaunce." 11.
(3) "The hool *al* werk." 39.
(4) "*Al* the hool proces." 177.

Alaboute, 138; Al abouȝte, 333. Completely round.

Algatis. Altogether. 130, 188, 395, 403. Explained by *omnino, omnimode* in Prompt. Parv. p. 9. (Camden Soc. Edited by Mr. Way.)

Aliene, 407; *past part.* AlienED, 225. To alienate.

Aliȝting, *pres. part.* Alleviating. 550.

Almes, (always *sing.*), 376; *pl.* Almessis, 550. Alms.

Almesful, 326; Almysful, 335. Charitable.

Aloon, 11; Aloone, 67; also very often Al oon, 10. Alone.

Alto. Completely. 484. (In composition with *broke.*)

Alwise. At all. 472.

Amagrey. In spite of.

"*Amagrey* his heed (*i.e.* head)." 52.

See Gloss. to Chaucer, *s. v. maugre* for the same phrase; and Richardson for the expression "*maugre* his nose;" *also* Prompt. Parv. p. 319.

Amang. Among. 422. (Once only, and probably by a clerical error; this being a northern form.)

Ambuler. An ambling horse. 525. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 19.

Amendis. Amends. (But used as a *sing.*)

"A sufficient *amendis*." 110.

Similarly *riches* and *almes*.

Among. At intervals.

"Seelde *among*." 221.

Amys. *See* Mys.

An. And, (but very rarely).

"*An* whi not thanne." 140.

Anchon, *n. pr.* Ancona, 359.

And, (emphatic, as καὶ in Gr.) Also.

"If thin answere is good, *and* such thanne a lijk answere schal be good." 519.

Anentis.

(1) In the eyes of; *coram.* 63.
(2) Towards. 377.
(3) In respect of. 1, 106, 129.

Answeringli. Correspondingly. 351.

Apaied (*past part.*) Contented. 276. *See* Paied.

Apocrif, 356; Apocrife, 366; *pl.* Apocrifis, 358. A fabulous story.

Apostilhode. State or office of an apostle. 295.

Appeire, *v. a.* and *n.*, 110; Apperre, 305; *pres.* Appeirith, 338; *pret.* Appeirid, 338.

(1) To injure; impair. 305.
(2) To become worse, or impaired. 338.

Appeiring, *n. s.* Deterioration. 338.

APPERE, 227; *pret.* APPERID, 225. To appear.

APPOSID (*past part.* of APPOSE). Examined (in texts).

APPRISE, 51; *pres. pl.* APPRISEN, p. 51; *past part.* APPRISID, 51. To appreciate, value.

APPRISING. Appreciation. 26.

APPROUABLE. Worthy to be approved. 540.

APROPRID, APPROPRID, *past part.* Appropriated. 368, 369. *See* Jamieson, *s. v.* APPROPRE.

ARAIE, *v. a.* To put on.

"Louȝer submissioun thei myȝten not *araie* for to bisette vpon Crist him silf." 207.

"To *araie* a bokeler."

Foll. to Donet, MS. fol. 31. Compare p. 171.

ARCHIBISCHOPHODE. Office of an archbishop. 426.

ARERE. Backwards, (or rather perhaps,) loose, at random.

"Prechingis rennen *arere*." 90.

AROMBE. At a distance. 271. *See* ROMBE; *also* Prompt. Parv. *s. v.* AROUME, and Waterland's Works, vol. x. p. 262.

AS. Sometimes used almost redundantly.

(1) Equivalent to the Latin *qua*.

"What euer thing onli . . . counseilith men forto kepe certein gouernauncis, groundith not *as* in that (*i. e.* in so far as it does that) tho gouernauncis." 21.

See also pp. 43, 84.

(2) Equivalent to *quod attinet ad*.

"Thus myche *as* here," (*i. e.* so far as the present place is concerned). 435.

See also p. 35.

"Which *as* for thilk euidence is not to be grantid." 108.

See also pp. 35, 67, 113.

(3) Indicating an aspect.

"Her blamyng . . . muste needis be had *as* for vniust and vntrewe." 455.

ASAIER. Attempter. 58.

ASCAPING, *n. s.* Avoidance. 165.

ASCHAPE, 175; *part. pass.* ASCAPID, 439. To escape.

ASCRYUE, *pres. pl.* ASCRIUEN, 476; *past part.* ASCRYUED, 361; ASCRIUED, 362. To ascribe.

ASKE; 443. *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* ASKIST, 293; *pret.* ASKID, 317; ASKIDE, 362; *subj. 2nd pers. sing.* ASKE, 170. Require; deem necessary.

"In the multitude which the good reule of the chirche bi resoun wolde *aske*." 443.

See also p. 253.

ASPIE, 92; *pret.* ASPIED, 354; *pl.* ASPIEDEN, 242; *past part.* ASPIED, 227. (*See also* pp. 119, 274, 341, 369, 514.) To discover; ascertain.

ASSAIE, 9; *pl.* ASSAIEN, 274; *pret. pl.* ASSAIEDEN, 245.

(1) To make an attempt.

"Into wnos making . . . y purpose forto *assaie*." 9.

(2) To strive to know.

"Wolde God that thei wolden *assaie* perfitli what tho now seid bokis ben." 48.

ASSAIE, *n. s.*, 41; ASSAY, 514. Trial.

ASSAUT. Assault. 71.

ASSERER. Asserter. 411.

ASSIGNE, 225; also ASSIGNED, 225; *past part.* of ASSIGNE.

ASSOILE, 16; *imp.* ASSOILE, 72; *past part.* ASSOILID, 208. To solve; refute.

ASSOILING. Refutation. 208.

At, *prep.*

(1) Turning the adjective which it governs into an adverb, *e. g.* At fulle, *i. e.* fully. 377. At next, *i. e.* next, directly. 177, 369 (in different senses).

(2) In presence of.

'We ben *at* thee,' translation of "Adsumus ecce tibi." 205

(3) With.

"*At* God it is possible." 296.

"Eting tho thinges whiche ben *at* hem." 388.

"Her meede is *at* the Lord." 389.

Attorney. One who acts in the place of another. 396.

Atwynne, 33; A twynne, 51; Atwyn, 11; Atwin, 32. Asunder.

Auctorite, 531; Autorite, 69. Authority.

Autir, 151; Auter, 563; Auctir, 409; *pl.* Auteris, 460. An altar.

Autentik. Authentic. 435.

Avauncing, *n. s.* Advancing. 431.

Avaunten, *pres. pl.* To vaunt. 123.

Aventure. Adventure; mischance. 393.

Avise, *n. s.* Advice; counsel. 532.

Avisement. Deliberation; set design. 124.

"Bi ooth and so bi *avisement*." 344.

Avisid (*past part.* of Avise). Considered; deemed. 3, 80.

Avisidli. Advisedly; deliberately. 403.

Avising, 75; *pl.* Avisingis, 75. Deliberation.

Avorthi. To afford. 306, 336, 377, 562. (Joined in each case to an auxiliary verb. Avord still occurs as a vulgarism, and Forthe is used by Wiclif. *See* Lewis' Life of Wiclif, p. 120. The etymology seems to be *worth*; to be of so much worth, as to be able.)

Avoutreris, *pl.* Adulterers. 103.

Awaite, 421; *past part.* Awaitid, 226.

(1) To take heed, *u. s.*

(2) To await (in modern sense), 318.

Awaite, *n.* Heed; caution. 226.

Aworth. Worthily, according to Jamieson, (following Tytler), who quotes King's Quair, i. 6, where it is joined with the verb *to take*, as it also is in both places in this book, pp. 371, 382. It corresponds with the later form *in worth*:—

"Force made me take my grief in worth." Surrey, quoted in Richardson's Dict. In the MS. of the Follower to the Donet (fol. 44) the word is written *a worth*, which shows *a* to be a preposition.

"To the vertu of pacience it longith to take the greuaunce *a worth*."

In every case the general sense is *with resignation*, but the literal meaning seems to be *according to its worth, or what it calls on a man to do, i.e. with advised submission.*

Aȝen, Again. 397.

Aȝenbie, 261; *pret.* Aȝenbouȝte, 261; *2nd p.* Aȝenbouȝtist, 261. To redeem.

Aȝenbier. Redeemer. (Tr. of *redemptor*). 205.

AȝENHOLDE, 381; *past part.* AȝENHOLDE, 385. To withhold.

AȝENS. Against. 8.

AȝENSEIYNG. Gainsaying. (Translation of *contradictio*, in Jude, v. 11, Vulg.) 480.

AȝENSTONDE, 102; *pres.* AȝENSTONDITH, *pl.* 7; AȝENSTONDEN, 479; *pret.* AȝENSTODE, 254; *pl.* AȝENSTODEN, 479; *past part.* AȝENSTONDUN, 431. To withstand.

AȝENWARD.

(1) Contrariwise. 33.

(2) Almost like *aȝen*. 398.

B.

BACUL. Episcopal staff, crosier. 386.

BAPTYM, 460; BAPTEM, 563; BAPTIM, 220. Baptism.

See Way on Prompt. Parv. p. 23.

BARUNRIE; *pl.* BARUNRIES, 400. A barony.

BATEIL, 431; *gen.* BATEILIS, 198; *pl.* BATEILIS, 482. Battle; resistance.

"The frechnes of the wil is . . . to be leid aside with greet *bateil*." 328.

BATEILFULLER, *comp.* Rougher (ways). 348.

BAWME. Balm. 358.

BE. The tenses formed immediately from this verb are thus inflected by Pecock:—

Inf. BE. 2.

Ind. pres. sing. The first two persons wanting, being always supplied by AM, ART. 6, 442.

3rd pers. sing. BEN. Once only, 162; if it be not a clerical error. Pecock has indeed—

"Ech of these deedis mowe be doon and *ben* doon," 120;

but he intends the verb to be plural, as does also Shakspeare, Cymb.,

"Every thing that pretty *bin*."

He also quotes from Wiclif:

"These thingis it *ben*," 465; and, "Tho it *ben*," 466.

But in these cases also the verb is really plural. *See* Guest in Phil. Tr. vol. 1, p. 156. Pecock everywhere else uses *is*. 1, &c.

Pl. BEN 1, 69, 205. BE, 319, 468. (*Are* does not occur.)

Imp. sing. and *pl.* BE. 72, 88, 201, 252.

Pres. subj. sing. BE, *1st and 3rd pers.* 8; *also* BEN (before a vowel), 257; *pl.* BE, or BEN. 94, 97, 177, 179, 216, 510.

Pres. part. BEING. 1, 511. BEYNG, 44.

Past part. BE. 216.

(*Been* is not found; *ben* occurs, p. 335, but has been corrected into *be*.)

BE, *prep.* By. 542. (Very rare form in the MS. of Pecock, but occurring repeatedly in Bury's citations from him.)

BEEME. Bohemia. 86, 87.

BEING, 159, 196; BEYNG, 268; *pl.* BEINGIS, 30, 51. Essence; existence.

BELDING; *pl.* BELDINGIS, 198. A building. (BILDINGIS also occurs 554, and BILDE seems to be Pe-

cock's only form of the verb, 183, &c. *See* KISSE, *also* Nares' Gloss. *s. v.* BLIST; but such variations are not confined to the poets; compare *gistis*, *gestis*, &c.)

BENEFET, 224; BENEFETE, 333; *pl.* BENEFETIS, 161. Benefit, gracious gift.

BENEFETER, 333; *pl.* BENEFETERS, 550; BENEFETOURIS, 511. Benefactor.

BENEFETING, *n.s.* Benefiting. 216.

BENEFICIE. Benefit. 200. (Tr. of *beneficium*.)

BERDIS, *pl.* Beards. 119.

BERE, 2; BEERE, 151; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* BERITH, 230; *pl.* BEREN, 202; *pret. 2nd pers.* BARIST, 200; *3rd pers. pl.* BARE, 205; BAREN, 530; *subj. sing. and pl.* BERE, 237, 253; *pres. part.* BERING, 201; *past part.* BORN, 203; BORNE, 205; BORE, 205. To bear.

Peculiar usage: *Bere an hond upon.*

(1) To accuse. 2, 253, 385.

(2) To ascribe to. 150, 339, 360, 362.

Also in the latter sense without "an hond," 362, 363. *See* Dyce on Skelton, vol. ii. pp. 241, 360.

BEWTE. Beauty. 255.

BI, *prep.* By. *See* BE.

Peculiar usage:

For. "Word *bi* word." 137, 144.

It is frequently disjoined from its case, with which in the modern language it is amalgamated, as *bi cause: bi hinde* and *bi fore* are examples of the same sort. *See* p. 1.

BICLIPPE, 271; *pret.* BICLIPPED, 271. To embrace.

BICLIPPING, *n.s.* Embracing. 271.

BIDDE, 112; *pres.* BIDDITH, 111; *pret.* BADE, 138; *subj.* BIDDE, 16; *pres. part.* BIDDING, 113; *past part.* BEDE, 115; BEDEN, 23; BEDUN, 111. To bid.

BIDOTE; *past part.* BIDOTID, 145. To cause to dote; deceive.

BIER. A buyer. 469.

BIFALLE, 469; *pres.* BIFALLITH, 541; *pret.* BIFILLE, 86, 447; *subj.* BIFALLE, 177. To happen.

"As if eny newe thing *bifalle* to ȝou." 177.

BIFOREBARRE; *pres.* BIFORBARRITH, 477; *pl.* BIFOREBARREN, 478. To prevent, preclude. *See* FORBARRE.

BIGETE, 499; BIGETUN, 497; BIGETEN, 413; *past part.* of BIGETE, 375. To beget.

BIGGE, 280, 493; BIE, 303; *pret.* BOUȝTE, 488; *pres. part.* BIYNG, 468; *past part.* BOUȝT, 329. To buy. *See* AȝENBIE.

BIHEEST, *n. s.* Promise. 405.

BIHETE, 398; *pret.* BIHIȝTE, 276, 404; *pres. part.* BIHETING, 124; *past part.* BIHIȝT, 114, 181, 404. To promise. *See* Way on Prompt. Parv. p. 29.

BIHOLDE, *v. a.* and *n.*; *pres. sing.* BIHOLDITH, 280; *pl.* BIHOLDEN, 45; *pres. part.* BIHOLDING, 85, 436; *past part.* BIHOLDE, 138.

(1) To concern, relate to, 45, 85.

(2) Joined with *aȝens* or *to*= To be opposite to. 280, 546.

(3) To behold (in the modern sense). 138.

BIHOLDEABLE (expl. by *speculable*, 134). Theoretical, speculative. 37, 134. (Epith. of *truths*.)

BIHOLDING, *n. s.* Reference. 17.

BIHOUE. Behoof, profit. 16, 66.

BIHOUEFULLI. Profitably. 47.

BILEEUE. Belief. 242.

BINDE, 557 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* BINDITH, 317 ; *pl.* BINDEN, 506 ; BYNDEN, 557 ; *pret.* BONDE, 317 ; *past part.* BOUNDE, 18 ; BOUNDEN, 57 ; BOUNDUN, 494 ; BONDE, 297 ; To bind.

BIQUATHE (*pret.* of BIQUETHE). To bequeath. 361. Cf. *Chese, chase ; stele, stale ; speke, spake.*

BIREWE, *v. a.* To pity. 253.

BIRIE, 178 ; *past part.* BIRIED, 39 ; *but also* BURIED, 31. To bury.

BIRIYNG, *n. s.* A burying. 181.

BIRTHEN, 19 ; BIRTHAN, 155 ; *pl.* BIRTHENS, 201. A burden.

BISCHOP ; sometimes used for the Jewish high priest, 436. Similarly *Levites* are called *Deacons*, 279, &c., from the analogy of the Jewish and Christian hierarchies, insisted on by St. Jerome and others.

BISCHOPHODE. The office of a bishop. 380, 426, 529.

BISETTE, *v. a.* 195, 207 ; *pret.* BISETTID, 295 ; *past part.* BISETT, 256. To employ (labour).

BISITTITH, *pres. 3rd pers. sing* Beseemeth. 73. This is the true reading, and both the alterations mentioned in the note are wrong. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 367.

BISYNES, 90 ; *pl.* BISYNESSIS, 9. Labour ; trouble.

"To sette . . . . *bisynes* forto conquere . . . . . Ynglond." 90.

BITAKE, 107, *past part.* Committed. 40, 43.

BITAKING, *n. s.* Taking. 128.

BITHENKE, 166, 230 ; *pl.* BITHENKEN, 164. To bethink oneself of a thing.

"We *bithenken* tho persoones." 164.

BITOKENE, 141 ; BITOKEN, 144 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* BITOKENETH, 389 ; *pl.* BITOKENEN, 273 ; *subj.* BITOKENE, 144 ; *past part.* BITOKENED, 81. To signify.

BITOKENYNG, *n. s.* Signification. 389.

BITTE, *n. s.* A bite. 204.

BITWIX, 69 ; BITWIXE, 69, 77. Between ; betwixt.

BIȜONDE, 280 ; BIȜENDE, 436. Beyond ; above.

"Ouer and *biȝende* the citees." 281.

BLESSID, *past part.* Guarded. 411. Properly the verb signifies to *guard by the power of a charm*, as in Milton's Il Penseroso—

"Or the bell-man's drowsy charm
To *bless* the doors from nightly harm."

So too the proverb—

"A penny to *bless* oneself with," *i.e.* to keep out the foul fiend hunger.

(The type of the cross on the reverse of the penny has probably

no connexion with the phrase). Spenser also has—

"From blame him fairly *blest*."

quoted by Nares, who needed not to have hesitated at all about rendering it "secured."

Bocheri. The craft or art of the butcher. 49.

Bodied. *past part.* Embodied. 245.

Bodili, *adj.* Material (said of a church, as an edifice). 392. *See also* p. 243.

Bodilich, *adv.* Bodili, 268. Bodily. 195.

Bohemers. Bohemians. 87.

Boistose. Boisterous; rude. 9.

Boistosenes. Rudenes. 9. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 42.

Bokeler. A buckler. 71.

Bolk. Bulk. 565.

Bollun, 479; Bolned, 481; *past part.* of Boln, Bolne, or Bollen. To swell. *See* Gloss. to Wiclif's Bible.

Booce, *pres. part.* Boocing. Bossing; projecting out (of carved work), 138. *See* Gloss. to Wiclif's Bible.

Book, 213; *pl.* Bookis, 15; Bokis, 213. A book.

Peculiar usage:

"The *book* of mannis soule." 25.

Boold. Bold. 227, (*Bold* also occurs 274).

Boond. Command. 316.

Boonys, *pl.* 150; Bonys, 155; Bonis, 182; Bones, 27. Bones. (The singular, which does not occur in this book, was no doubt *boon*. See *stoon, book*, which sometimes reject one *o* in the plural; but such forms as *stone, boke*, &c., where the *e* merely lengthens the vowel *o*, seem unknown or almost unknown to this MS., and are perhaps a little later in date. *See*, however, Good; also Zeel. The whole question of the mute *e* requires much more investigation than it has yet received. Certain preterites are written both with and without a final *e*; e. g., *stood, stode; spak, spake; heng, henge; settid, settide*, &c.; also *lithe* and *gothe* occur (though very rarely) as present forms.

Boot; *pl.* Bootis. A boat. 30.

Bothe. Both.

Position in the sentence:

"Hise *bothe* epistlis." 56.

"Whose *bothe* premissis." 75.

"The *bothe* premissis." 76

Bourde, *n. s.* Joke.

"To take *bourde* at," to laugh at. 156.

See Prompt. Parv. p. 44.

Bourding, *n. s.* Joking; jesting. 120.

Boweable, (explained by *redi*). Propitious. 200, 262. (Tr. of *pronus*.)

Bouȝ, 29; *pl.* Bowis, 160; Bowȝes, 160. Boughs.

Breche, *n. s.* Breeches. 118.

Brede. Breadth. 25.

Breed. Bread. 225.

Brenne, *v. a.* and *n.*; *pret.* Brent, 225; *pres. part.* Brennyng, 259; *past part.* Brend, 29; Brent, 17, 86. To burn.

Brennyng, *n. s.* Burning, 358.

Briddis. Brood; in this case = *young birds* (opposed to *foulis*.)

219. Apparently the plural of *brid* in the sense of *brood*, not of *bird*. Comp. Gesta Rom. p. 196. (Roxb. Club, 1838.)

"He . . . put therin euery daye milke, that the serpent withe his *briddis* myght licke hit oute."

See also Wicl. Bible Gloss., *s. v.* Brid; and especially Jamieson's Dict., *s. v.* Tod's Birds.

Brigge, 338; *gen.* Briggis, 338. Bridge.

Brocke. A badger. "Brockeskynnes," 309. Wiclif's transl. of *melotis*, Hebr. xi. 37. (Vulg.), for which *see* Way on Prompt. Parv. p. 25.

Brode, 485; Brood, 374; *comp.* Broddir, 80. Broad.

Brother, 2; *pl.* Britheren, 63. A brother.

But. Except.

"Thei eten not, but thei ben waischen." 465.

Quoted from Wiclif, where this use is very common. Pecock himself hardly ever joins it with verbs.

"And *but* ech .... schulde haue." 393.

"Thei ben miche to be blamed, *but* thei .... kepe." 348.

In both which places *if* may perhaps have been omitted.

But if. Except. 8. Treated exactly as one word.

"Saue whilis and *but if* he entermete." 431.

"Whanne and *but if*." 431.

See No but. (Obs. *But if* also occurs in its modern sense=*quod si*, p. 64).

C.

Caas, 342; Caace, 493; *pl.* Caasis, 243; Casis, 154. A case. In caas, in the case in which. 231. (But In caas usually=If, p. 30, as in modern English).

Caitifis. Captives. 479.

Can (*pres.* of Kunne). I know; am able.

"But if he *can* of moral philsophie." 43.

"The more that he *can* in moral philsophie." *id.*

"Manye *kunnen* suche textis bi her te." 89, 129.

"Y, by what y *can*." 69.

Also used everywhere by Pecock as in modern English, for the auxiliary verb.

Inflection:

1*st pers. sing.* Can. 69.

2*nd pers.* Cannest, 3; Canst. 3, 119.

3*rd pers.* Can, 213; Kan, 245; Canne, 2;

Pl. Kunnen, 2; Kun, 394.

Carect. Character; letter. 166.

Cark, 377; Kark, 307. Care.

Carkful. Full of care. 377.

Carpentrie. The art of the carpenter. 50.

Cartis, *pl.* Charters. 402.

Cast, *n. s.* Throw of a die.

From this the following phrase seems to be taken:

"At his last *cast*," *i.e.*, term of existence. 338.

Caste, 518; *past part.* Cast, 528; Caste, 122 (*pl. form?*); Castid, 53. To cast.

Peculiar usages:

(1) To risk.

"Perel is *castid*." 53.

(2) To cast in mind, look forward. 518.

(3) To add. 306, 528.

Catel. Substance; chattel. 309.

Cathezized, *past part.* Catechised. 426.

Cathezizer. Catechiser. 427.

Causeli, *adv.* By way of cause. 474.

Cavillacioun. Cavil. 534.

Ceese, *v. a.* To make to cease. 4. (Intransitive at p. 350.)

Cense. To offer incense. 169.

Certein. A certain number. 338, 358. (*See* Gloss. to Chaucer.)

Cerymonyalis. Ceremonial laws. 526.

Chaast. Single (merely opposed to *weddid*). 492. Similarly, *chastite* is, "more monastico," used for *celibacy*. 311.

Chaffar, 99; Chaffare, 100. Merchandize. (Used metaphorically, 100.)

Chaleng, 152; Chalenge, 558; *pl.* Chalengis, 558. An accusation.

Chalenge, *v. a.* 558; *past part.* Chalengid, 558. To accuse. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 68.

Chalengeable. Worthy to be accused. 538.

Chalenger. An accuser. 559.

Chalenging, *n. s.* An accusing. 559.

Charge, *v. a.*

"Nile thou litil *charge*," *i.e.*, neglect not. 445.

Chaumbre, 166; Chaumbir, 150; Chambir, 284. A chamber.

Chaumbring, *n. s.* The furnishing of a chamber. 521.

Cheep, *n. s.* Cheapness; plenty. 108.

Cheerte, 274; Cherte, 121. (1) Cheerfulness. 274. (2) Merriment; jollity. 121. (Used in a bad sense.)

Cheffaring; *pl.* Cheffaringis, 16. Trading.

Cheping. Market. 465, 468.

Chering. Entertainment (at feasts). 371.

Chese, 88, 184; *pres. sing.* Chesith, 187; *pl.* Chesen, 331; *pret.* Chase, 278; Chaas, 349; Chas, 349; Chose, 185; Cheese 483; *pl.* Chosen, 448; *subj.* Chese, 113; *imper. pl.* Chese, 267; *pres. part.* Chesing, 230; *past part.* Chose, 112, 448; Chosun, 244, 559. To choose.

Chesing, *n. s.* A choosing. 184.

Childide (*pret. of* Child *or* Childen. *See* Coleridge's Gloss. Ind. and Gloss. Wicl. Bible *s. v.*). Brought forth. 293.

Childli. Childishly; absurdly. 65.

Circumcidid, *past. part.* Circumcised. 526.

Cisme. Schism. 2, 253. (Written also *scisme*. 139.)

Claustral. Cloistered (monks). 537. (Distinguished from *reclusis*, i.e. *anchorites*, whose *clusorium* "appears to have often immediately adjoined the church." *See* Prompt. Parv. pp. 83, 142.)

Clausul, 16; *pl.* Clausulis, 441. A clause; verse of the Bible.

Clayng. Tumult; trouble. 307.

Cleering, *n. s.* Manifestation. 316.

Clenli, *adv.* Without mixture of error. Lit. without spot.

"*Clenli* and cleerli disposid resoun." 539.

See also p. 167, where the note is right.

Clepe, 48 ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* Clepist, 153 ; *3rd pers.* Clepith, 527 ; *pl.* Clepen, 150 ; *pret.* Clepid, 466 ; *pl.* Clepiden, 150 ; *imp.* Clepe, 389 ; *subj. pl.* Clepen, 151 ; *past part.* Clepid, 4 ; Yclepid *or* y clepid, 16.

(1) To call, *i.e.* denominate. 4, &c.

(2) To call, *i.e.* summon. 389, 466.

Cleree, *v.a.* To make clear. 27.

Clerkhode. Office of a clerk. 380.

Cloistrose. Pertaining to the cloister. (Cloistrose obseruancis), p. 517.

Clooth. 303 ; *pl.* Clothis, 271.

(1) Clothes. 303.

(2) Cloth. 258.

Closid, *past part.* Enclosed. 441.

Closingli. Inclusively. 111.

Colorable. Plausible. 536.

Colorabili. Plausibly. 444.

Colour, 282 ; Colur, 432 ; *pl.* Colouris, 281.

(1) A plausible argument. 282.

(2) A figure of rhetoric. 257.

Come. To bring, come with.

"And thei wolen not *come* her thankis." 563.

(Possibly, however, *with* may have been omitted by a clerical error, or rather *come* may have been written for *conne*.)

Commodite, 214 ; *pl.* Commoditees, 215. Advantage, profit.

Communaunce. Communion. 134.

Comounte, 345; *pl.* Comountees, 347. A community.

Compleyne. To complain ; but used in a middle sense.

"*Compleyne* hem (themselves) to the iugis," *i.e.* make their complaint. 395.

Comune, *v. n.* To have fellowship (with a thing). 177.

Condempne, *pl.* Condempnen, 4. To condemn.

Confermedli. In a confirmed manner. 249.

Considerable. Capable of being considered. 134.

Contrarite. Contrariety. 455. (This seems to be Pecock's form, but *contraritees*, p. 242, has been altered into *contrarietees*.)

Contrarieth. Contravenes. 437. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

Contrariose. Contrary. 537.

Conuersis, *pl.* Converts. 59. (The plural only seems to occur in Wiclif's Bible ; *see* Gloss. : a conuertid is found, Matth. xxiii. 15.)

Coot, 85, 231 ; *pl.* Cootis, 519. A coat.

Coppid. Crested. Metaph. *haughty*. 125. (*See* Rich. Dict., *s. v.* Cop.)

Corintheis, 56 ; Corinthies, 56. Corinthians.

Corown. Tonsure, or rather circlet of hair left by the tonsure. (Tr. of *corona*, and explained by *tonsura*, *see* note), 387. The dandelion (*i.e.* its calyx, the seed being blown off) was called Priest's Crown. Cotgrave Dict., *s. v.* Dent. The origin of the tonsure is thus given by St.

Jerome :—"Hanc coronam ha- " bent ab institutione Romanæ " Ecclesiæ in signum regni quod " in Christo expectatur ; rasio " vero capitis est temporalium " omnium depositio."—Quoted in Decr. c. xii. q. 1.

Correpcioun, 1, 2 ; *pl.* Correpciouns, 394. Rebuke. (Distinguished from Correccioun, 1 ; *q. v.*)

Correpte. To rebuke. 2.

Correpting. Rebuking. 1, 2.

Coruen, 212 ; Coruun, 114, 163 ; (*past part.* of Kerue. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.) Carved.

Cosse. A kiss. 271.

Cost. *See* Needis cost.

Costiose, 371 ; Coostiose, 370 ; *comp.* Costioser, 231. Costly.

Costioseli. Expensively. 193, 377.

Costioseness. Costliness. 553.

Coueitable, *adj.* To be coveted. 271.

Coueitise. Covetousness. 148, 303.

Couenable. Convenient, suitable. 124, 125.

Couent, 345 ; *pl.* Couentis, 348. A convent. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 97.

Couerchief, 118 ; *pl.* Couerchefis, 119 ; Couercheefis, 119, 125; Keuerchefis, 125. A head-cloth ; kerchief. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 272.

Countre, *v. n.* To encounter. 72.

Coupe. A cup ; but here used for *the pix* (tr. of *pyxis*). 203. *Cuppe* occurs 126.

Coursli, *adv.* In the course of nature. 153.

Couthe (*pret.* of Kunne), 78 ; Kouthe, 351 ; *2nd pers. sing.* Couthist, 119 ; *pl.* Couthen, 68 ; more rarely Couthe, 89, 149 ; *see also* p. 123 ; Kouthen, 366. Could. *See* Guest in Phil. Soc. Tr., vol. 2. p. 153.)

Craftiose.

(1) Artistic, skilful. 198.

(2) Belonging to a craft or trade. 450.

Creature. The Creation. 480.

Creme. Chrism. 460.

Cristen, *adj.* Christian. 153. (*Singular* and *plural.*)

Cristen, *n.s.* 182 ; *pl.* Cristene, 149, 182, 511. Christians. (Used substantively, but declined as an adjective).

Cristenhode. Christianity, *i. e.* the state of a disciple of Christ. 69.

Cristente. Christianity, *i. e.* the religion of Christ. 535.

Cruelnes. Cruelty. 324, (where Cruelte also occurs.)

Cumberaunce. Trouble ; care. 537.

Cumpenying, 534 ; Cumpaniyng, 159. Intercourse.

Curiosite. Niceness. 553. Explained by *artificiositas.* Prompt. Parv. p. 93.

Curteis. Courteous. 244.

Customabili. Customarily. 413.

Customable. Habitual (sinner). 414.

Cutleri, 50 ; Cutellerie, 50. The art of the cutler.

D.

Dai, 250; *pl.* Daies, 250; Deies, 250. A day.

Damageful. Injurious. 182, 244.

Dampnacioun. Damnation. 275.

Daunce, *n.s.* Metaph., Disturbance, or rather, perhaps, sport. 86. (Possibly a clerical error for *chaunce*, but ?).

Deedli.

(1) Mortal, *i.e.* subject to death (of man). Tr. of *mortalis homo*. 205.

(2) Mortal, *i.e.* subjecting to death (of sin). 276.

Deeme, 63; Deem, 106; *pres. 2nd pers.* Deemest, 63; Demest, 63; *3rd pers.* Deemth, 450; Deemeth, 231; *pl.* Deemen, 417; Demen, 110; *pret.* Deemed, 244; *subj.* Deme, 311; *imper. pl.* Deeme, 420; *past part.* Deemed, 63. To judge.

Deeth, 204; *pl.* Deethis, 376. Death.

Defaute, 2; *pl.* Defautis, 2.

(1) Fault. 2.

(2) Fail, lack. 6, 9, 343.

Defauti. Faulty. 72, 563.

Defoule, 466; *pres. 3rd pers.* Defoulith, 464; *pl.* Defoulen, 465. To defile.

Defouling, *n. s.* Defilement. 466.

Deinte. Fondness. 66, 251. *See* Coleridge's Glossarial Index, *s. v.* Dainty.

Deken, 173; *pl.* Dekenis, 280; Dekenys, 277; Dekenes, 279.

(1) A deacon. 332.

(2) A Levite. 280.

See Bischop.

Dekenhode. Office of (a Christian) deacon. 332.

Deliciosite. Delectableness. 255.

Deluyng *n. s.* Usually explained by *digging*, but apparently distinguished from it in several passages quoted in Richardson's Dict., *s. v.* Delve. *Delf* is used for a mine, and *to delve* appears to mean to dig deep. 228. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 118.

Delyuerance. A discharge of a thing; (said both of the giver and the receiver). 404.

Demene, *v. a.* To manage (land); conduct (reasoning). 87, 312.

Demenyng, *n. s.* Managing (of land). 288.

Demenys, *pl.* Managements. 289, 290.

Denarie. A Roman *denarius;* the tribute-penny. 140.

Denounce; *pres. part.* Denouncing, 398; *past part.* Denounced, 398. To announce.

Depart, *v. a.* and *n.*; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Departith, 134; *pret.* Departid, 276; *pl.* Departiden, 309; *past part.* Departid, 34.

(1) To separate; divide. 134, &c.

(2) More rarely, to depart.

"Whanne sche *departid*." 174.

"Whanne he were *departid* frothens." 197.

(The latter example shows the origin of the modern usage.)

Departable. Separable. 282.

Departing, *n. s.* Partition. 278, 407.

DEPE, 38, 541 ; *comp.* DEPPIR, 159. Deep; low.

"Summen wolen knele *deppir*." 159.

DESPENSATOURIS, *pl.* Dispensers. 409.

DETECTE, *v. a.* To accuse. 88.

DETRACTE, *v. a.* ; *pres. pl.* DETRACTEN, 417. To vilify.

"Thei *detracten* the clergie."

The active use occurs also in Drayton, cited in Richardson's Dict., *s. v.*

DEVISELI, prop. Dividedly ; but used technically in law to express the testamentary gift of lands (not chattels) by partition. (Opposed to *jointly*). 398.

DIDE, *n. s.* A deed. 159. (But *deede* and *dede* also occur, 259.)

DIFFAME, *n. s.* Evil report. 78, 110.

DIGNE. Worthy. 90.

DISCIPLEHODE, 295 ; DISCIPILHODE, 295. The state or office of a disciple.

DISCORDE, *v. n.*, 320 ; *pl.* DISCORDEN, 320. To disagree.

DISCOUER, *pres. part.* DISCOUERYNG, 206 ; *past part.* DISCOUERED, 206. To uncover ; make bare (a crucifix).

DISCRIUYNG, *n. s.* Description, 526.

DISCRYUE, *pres. part.* DISCRYUYNG, 277 ; *past part.* DISCRYUED, 408 ; DISCRIUED, 401 ; DESCRIUED, 408. To describe.

DISESID, *past part.* Put out of one's ease. 370.

DISGISINGIS, *pl.* Pastimes of performers in disguise.

"Nyse *disgisingis* of araies," 371. *i.e.* pastimes performed in *disguised* array.

"There see I many an uncouth *disguising*
In the array of thilke knightis proud."

Chaucer's Flower and Leaf. *See also* Richardson's Dict., *s. v.* DISGUISE.

DISPERCLID (*past part.* of DISPERCLE or DISPARCLE. *See* Richardson's Dict., *s.v.*) Dispersed. 318.

DISPLESAUNT. Unpleasant ; displeasing. 522.

DISPREISABLE, *verb adj.* Unpraiseworthy. 325.

DISTRUYED, 234 ; DESTRUYED, 86 ; *past part.* Destroyed. (DISTROIE and DISTROIED also occur 110, 234.)

DISTURBLAUNCE, 2, 87, 253 ; *pl.* DISTURBLAUNCIS, 401. A disturbance.

DISTURBLERS, *pl.* Disturbers. 139.

DISTURBLID, *past part.* Disturbed. 329.

DO, 96 ; *pres. sing. 2nd pers.* DOOST, 63 ; *3rd pers.* DOOTH, 9 ; DOITH, 223 ; DOTH, 34 ; *pl.* DOON, 75, 39 ; *pret. sing. 2nd pers.* DIDIST, 259 ; *3rd pers.* DIDE, 34 ; *pl.* DIDEN, 35 ; *subj.* DO, 2 ; *pl.* DOON, 416 ; *imper.* DO, 198 ; *pres. part.* DOING, 237, 420 ; *past part.* DOON, 14; DOUN, 111; DON, 13 ; DO, 1. (Three of these forms occur in the same sentence, 236). To do.

Peculiar usages :

"*Doing* to wite." *i.e.* explaining. 1.

"*Doon* into her deeth," *i.e.* put to death. 564.

DOABLE. Capable of being done. 134.

DOCTOURMONGERS, *pl.* A nickname for a certain class of Lollards. 87.

Dod, (*past part.* of Dodde. *See* Levit. xix. 27, Wicl. Bible). Clipped short; '*decomatus*,' (of the head). 135. *See* Way on Prompt. Parv. p. 125.

Donatouris, *pl.* Donors. 412.

Donet. A grammar; so named from the grammarian Donatus. (*See* Cotgrave's Dict., *s. v.* Donat.) *The Donet into Cristen religioun*, and *The folewer to the Donet*, are titles of two works of Pecock, often quoted in The Repressor (see Index), who says, (Donet, MS. fol. 1) :—

"As the comoun *donet* berith himsilfe towards the full kunnying of Latyn, so this booke for Goddis lawe: therfore this booke might be conveniently called The Donet, or key to Cristen religioun."

(quoted in Lewis' Life of Pecock, p. 317). *See also* Waterland's Works, vol. x. p. 236, Gloss. to Chaucer, and Prompt. Parv. p. 126.

Doole, *n. s.* Dole; distribution. 375.

Doom, 17; Dom, 473; *pl.* Doomys, 179; Doomes, 485; Domes, 179.

(1) Judgment (of reason). 179, &c.

(2) Condemnation. 421.

Dossers. Expl. by *paniers*. 30. *See* Way's note on Prompt. Parv. p. 125.

Dotid, *past part.* of Dote. Befooled. 145.

Double. Guilty of duplicity. 152.

Doutable. Doubtful. 88.

Douȝtir, 176; *pl.* Douȝtris, 500. A daughter.

Douȝty. Active (into good works). 14.

Douȝtynes. Activity, perseverance. 342.

"The principal circumstance of *douȝtines* . . . is excellent hardness."

Follower to the Donet, MS. fol. 99.

Drawe, 228; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Drawith, 66; *pret.* Drowe, 194; *past part.* Drawe, 277, 305; Drawen, 343; Drawun, 163. To draw.

Drede, 87, 165; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Dredith, 507; *pl.* Dreden, 522; *imp. pl.* Drede, 482; *pres. part.* Dreding, 224; *past part.* Drad, 249. To dread, fear.

"It is ful miche to *drede*," *i.e.* to be *feared* 331.

Dreedful. Full of fear. 509.

Drenche, 274; *pres. pl.* Drenchen, 303 (prop. to drown, *see* Gl. Wicl. Bible, but metaph.) To destroy (a man, leisure).

Dresse, 42; *pres. part.* Dressing, 251; *past part.* Dressid, 2.

(1) To address, 2.

(2) To guide, direct, 42, 73.

Dryue, 291; *pres. pl.* Dryuen, 8; *pres. part.* Dryuyng, 372; Driving, 373; *past part.* Driuen, 373; Dryue, 443.

(1) To compel. 253.

(2) To conclude, prove. 443, &c. Sometimes joined in this sense with "out." 8.

Duchehode. Office of a duke 429.

Duke, 197; *pl.* Dukis, 381, 460. A leader of any kind. (Joshua and bishops so called, *u. s.*)

DURE, *v. n.*, 326 ; *pret.* DURID, 525. To endure.

E.

EELDE, *adj.* 269 ; EELD, 479 ; *comp.* ELDRE (men), 464, 465 ; EELDIR (story), 356 ; ELDIR, 210 ; *sup.* ELDIST (ordinauncis), 394 ; EELDIST (time), 406. Old, ancient. (Pecock also uses the form *oolde*, 269 ; *oold*, 307.)

EELDE, *n. s.* Old age. 303. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 137.

EENDLI, *adv.* Finally. 462.

EFTSOONE. Again ; for the second time. 142, 172, 201, 254, 262, 294, 540. (*See* Waterland's Works, vol. x. p. 226.)

EIR, *n. s.* The air. 350.

EKE (rarely used by Pecock).

(1) Also. 209, 389.

(2) Therefore also. 8.

ELLIS.

(1) Else (in various senses).

"Sumwhere *ellis*." 32.

"For *ellis* God had ben, &c." 137.

(2) Often almost redundant, but in the sense of "otherwise."

"But if (*i.e.* unless) the bothe parties schulden be herd . . . . *ellis* myscheuys . . . wolde ofte falle." 395.

See also p. 410.

ENAMELING, *n. s.* Enamel. 126. On the art of enamelling, *see* Mr. Way on Prompt. Parv. p. 260.

ENCENSE, *v. n.* To burn incense. 169.

ENCENSIS, *pl.* of ENCENSE. Incense. 162. *See* Exod. xxv. 6. (Wicl.)

ENCERCHE, *v. a.* To ensearch.

(1) To look into a thing, in order to discover the object of search. 71.

(2) To discover. 360.

See Richardson's Dict., *s. v.* ENSEARCH.

ENCRECE, *v. n.* To increase. 347.

ENFORMYNG, *v. n.* (*pres. part.*) Teaching.

"*Enformyng* and tising therto." 66.

ENHABITE, *v. n.* To dwell (on the earth). 146.

ENHAUNCE, *v. a.* 63; *pres. pl.* ENHAUNSEN, 59 ; *pret. 2nd pers. sing.* ENHAUNCIDIST, 63; *pl.* ENHAUNCIDEN, 59. To exalt.

ENQUERE, *v. n.* 238 ; *past part.* ENQUERID, 187. To inquire, inquire into.

ENQUIRAUNCE, 134 ; ENQUERAUNCE, 227 ; *pl.* ENQUIRANCIS, 188. Inquiry.

ENSAMPIAL, *adj.* Setting an example. 293.

ENSAUMPLAL, *adj.* Setting an example. 309.

ENSAUMPLE, *v. a.* and *n.* 168, 235 ; *pret.* ENSAUMPLID, 301, 310, 311; ENSAMPLID, 311 ; *pl.* ENSAMPLIDEN, 314 ; *pres. part.* ENSAUMPLING, 127 ; *past part.* ENSAUMPLID, 311.

(1) To set an example of (a thing). 311.

(2) To set an example. 314.

ENSAUMPLERS, *pl.* Setters of examples. 412.

ENSAUMPLING, *n. s.* 309 ; *pl.* ENSAUMPLINGIS, 309. The setting of an example.

ENTIRCOMUNE, *v. n.* To intercommunicate. 49.

ENTERMEENE, *v. n.* 49; *pret. pl.* ENTERMEENEDEN, 50. To intervene. Distinguished from ENTERMETE:

"Not to entirmete, neither to *entermeene*." 49.

ENTERMETE, or ENTIRMETE, *v. n.* 7, 49, 50, 145, 470; *pres.* ENTERMETITH, 431; *pl.* ENTERMETEN, 470; *subj.* ENTERMETE, 431; *pres. part.* ENTIRMETING, 145, 431. To intermeddle, interfere, come into contact, meet (with a thing).

ENTERMETING, *n. s.*, 220, 556, 557; *pl.* ENTERMETINGIS, 220, 556. A coming into contact.

ENY, 7; ENI, 441. Any.

"What *eni* thing thou schalt louse vpon erthe," 441,

is probably a clerical error for *euer*. *Also* INY, p. 292 (note), can hardly be regarded as anything but a mistake for *eny*.

Peculiar usage:

"*Eny* of hem bothe," 558, *i.e.* either.

EPHESIE, 56; EFFESI, 56. Ephesus.

ERING, *n. s.* Ploughing. 228.

ERRE, 66, 74; *pres. pl.* ERREN, 564; *pret.* ERRID, 66; *pl.* ERRIDEN, 241; *pres. part.* ERRING, 480. To err.

"*Erring* sterris," *i.e.* wandering. 480.

"The gouernaunce, ayens which summe of the lay peple *erren*," *i.e.* stumble.

ERST, *adv.* Before; first.

"Thanne, . . . and not *erst*." 405.

ESEMENT. Relief. 120.

ESIER, *adv.* More easily. 268.

ESILIER, *adv.* (*comp.* of ESILI). More easily. 370.

ETE, 500; *pres. sing. 2nd pers.* ETIST, 68; *pl.* ETEN, 465; *pret. pl.* ETEN, 342; *subj. pl.* ETE, 124; *imp.* ETE. 68; *pres. part.* ETING, 13; *past part.* ETE, 498. To eat.

EUANGELIE, 54; EUANGELI, 60; EUANGELY, 59. The Gospel. (Pecock dislikes to apply the word to any book of the New Testament. *See* the places referred to).

EUEN, *adj.*, 280; *pl.* EUENE, 90.

(1) Equal. 280, 326, 424.

(2) Exact. 313.

(3) Fellow.

"Myn *euene* Cristen," my fellow-Christians. 90.

EUEN, *adv.*, 229; *comp.* EUENER 215.

(1) Equally. 229, 313.

(2) Evenly. 215.

EUENLIER, *adv.* More appropriately. 496.

EUEREITHER, 8; EUER EITHER, 391; EUEREYTHER, 256. Both one and the other; *uterque*. *See also* p. 558, and Gen. xv. 10. (Wiclif's Tr.) *See* NEUERNEITHER.

EUERLASTINGTE. Immortality. 7.

EXAUMPLE, *v. n.* To set an example. 452. (Possibly a clerical error for *ensaumple*, but ?).

EXPERIMENTAL. Having individual experience.

"*Experimental* witnessers," *i.e.* eye-witnesses. 448.

Expowne, *v. a.*, 47, 470 ; *subj.* Expowne, 65 ; *pres. part.* Expownyng, 87 ; *past part.* Expowned, 25. To expound.

Expowners, *pl.* Expounders. 56.

Expropriacioun. The divesting oneself of property. 505.

Expropriat, *past part.* Divested of property. 477.

F.

Fadir, or Fader, 372 ; *gen. sing.* Fadris, 339 ; Fadiris, 250 ; *pl.* Fadris, 397. A father.

Falle, 87 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Fallith, 77 ; *pl.* Fallen, 199 ; *pret.* Fil, 66 ; Fill, 286 ; Fille 285 ; *pl.* Fillen, 199 ; *subj. sing.* Falle, 236 ; *pl.* Falle, 69 ; *pres. part.* Falling, 9 ; *past part.* Falle, 9.

(1) To fall. 9.

(2) Fall out, happen. 344.

Falshede. Falsehood. 373.

Falsifie, *v. a.* To prove false (a conclusion). 50.

Falsnes. Deceit. 7.

Feble, *v. a.* ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* Feblist, 275. To enfeeble (an argument).

Feeld, 28 ; Feld, 28 ; *pl.* Feeldis, 275. A field.

Feeldi, *adj.* Plain, open (country). 280.

Feele, *v. a.* and *n.*, 412 ; *pres. pl.* Feelen, 27 ; *pret.* Feelid, 243 ; *pl.* Feleden, 448 ; *subj.* Feele, 27 ; *past part.* Feelid, 448. To think ; be of opinion. (In the common sense, 146.)

Feeling, *n. s.*, 173 ; *pl.* Feelingis, 87. Conviction.

Feend, 500 ; *pl.* Feendis, 240. A fiend ; the devil.

Feerd, 51 ; Afeerd, 51 ; *past part.* Frightened.

Feffers, *pl.* Presenters ; putters into possession of a fief. 399.

Feffid, *past part.* Enfeoffed, 398.

Felawschip, *n. s.*, 376 ; Felaschip, 377. Company ; comrades ; fellows.

Felow, 285 ; *pl.* Felawis, 397, 401.

(1) A companion. 285.

(2) A fellow of a college. 401.

Fer, *adv.* Far. 154.

Ferforth, *adv.* Far forward, far.

"As *ferforth* as it were doon." 75.

See also p. 372.

"In so *ferforth* that." 366.

Ferme, *n. s.* Occupation (of land). 290.

Fersli, 450 ; Fersely, 533. Fiercely.

Fix, *adj.* (properly *past part.*). Fixt. 242, 392.

Flauour. Savour (of fame). 90.

Fleischlihode. Fleshliness, gratification of the flesh. 319, 476.

Flotere, *v. n.* ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Flotereth, 91. To flutter.

Folewe, 132 ; Folowe (very rarely ; perhaps once only), 314 ; *pres, 3rd pers. sing.* Folewith, 115 ; *pl.* Folewen, 361 ; *pret. pl.*

FOLEWIDEN, 248; *subj. pl.* FOLEWE, 313; *past part.* FOLEWID, 236. To follow.

FOLEWINGLI. Consequently. 191.

FOLILI. Foolishly. 171.

FONNED, *past part.* Befooled. 145.

FONNYS, *n.s. pl.* and *gen. sing.* Dotards, fools. 129, 156.

FONNYSCH. Foolish. 156, 241.

FOODE, 304; *pl.* FOODIS, 303. Food.

FOOL, 442; *pl.* FOOLIS, 198; FOLIS, 198. An idiot, fool.

FORBARRE, *v. a.*; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* FORBARRITH, 487; *past part.* FORBARRID, 487. To preclude. Compare BIFOREBARRE; and see Capgr. Chron. p. 136, *s.v.* FORBARRE.

FORBEDABLE. Worthy to be forbidden. 470.

FORBEDE, 275; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* FORBEDITH, 211; *pl.* FORBEDEN, 457; FORBEDUN, 457; *pret.* FORBADE, 279; *imper.* FORBEDE ('God forbede'), 157; *subj.* FORBEDE, 253; *pres. part.* FORBEDING, 478; *past part.* FORBODE, 211; FORBODUN, 211; FORBODEN, 291. To forbid.

FORBEDERS, *pl.* Forbidders. 492.

FORBEDING, *n.s.*, 495; *pl.* FORBEDINGIS, 495. A prohibition.

FORBERE, *v. a.* and *n.* 188, 228; FORBER, 78; *pres. pl.* FORBEREN, 505; *pret.* FORBARE, 376; *pres. part.* FORBERING, 341; *past part.* FORBORE, 228; FORBORN, 192. To forbear; abstain from.

"Summe *forberen* al lynnen." 505.

FORBODE, 291, 372; *pl.* FORBODIS, 472. A prohibition.

"Goddis *forbode* be it." 537.

For which the abbreviated expression "Goddis forbode" more often occurs. *See* 25, 98, 99, 228, 253, 537.

FORTH, *adv.* Forwards, in advance of.

"The processis *forth* and afore the textis ligging." 52.

FORTHERAUNCE. Furtherance, assistance. 308.

FORTHERID, *past part.* Advanced. 171.

FORTHWARD. Forward. 13.

FORWHI. Because. 11. (Not interrogative, though often so printed in modern editions of the Prayer-book, &c.) Usually written conjunctim in the MS., and treated syntactically as one word; thus,

"*Forwhi* whi schulde he thanne more correcte .... than be correctid?" 445.

FORȝETE, *v. a.*, 163; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* FORȝETITH, 334; *past past.* FORȝETE, 83. To forget.

FORȝETEFUL. Forgetful. 165.

FORȝETING, *n. s.* Oblivion. 236.

FORȝEUERS, *pl.* Forgivers. 306.

FOUNDEMENT. A foundation. 418.

FREEL. Frail. 165.

FREELNESS, 431; *pl.* FREELNESSIS, 431. Frailty.

FREELTE. Frailty. 314.

FRERE, 558; *pl.* FRERIS, 555. A friar.

FRO. From. 7. (The modern form seems not to occur in Pecock, unless a vowel follows, as *from yuel*, 553, and that but rarely.)

FROTHENS, *adv.* From thence forward. 197.

FUNDACIOUN. Foundation. 250.

FUNDAMENT, 10 ; *pl.* FUNDAMENTIS, 11 ; FOUNDAMENTIS, 76. A foundation.

FUNDAMENTAL. Original (historian), 350 ; (research), 413.

FYNDE, *v. a.* and *n.*, 242 ; FINDE, 376 ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.*, FYNDIST, 491 ; FINDIST, 49 ; *3rd pers. sing.* FYNDETH, 48 ; *pl.* FYNDEN, 102 ; *pret.* FONDE, 365 ; *pl.* FONDEN, 242 ; FOUNDEN, 249 ; *subj. pl.* FOUNDE, 346 ; *past part.* FOUNDEN, 249 ; FOUNDE, 534 ; FOUNDUN, 192.

(1) To find. 242, &c.
(2) Find out. 249, 531, 534.
(3) Maintain. 376, 377.

FYNDEABLE. Capable of being found out. 41, 97.

FYNDING, 390 (*q. v.* for a definition) ; FINDING, 391 ; *pl.* FYNDINGIS, 391.

(1) Maintenance. 305.
(2) Supply (of balm). 358.
(3) Discovery. 70.

G.

GADERE, 296 ; *past part.* GADERID, 201. To gather.

GADERERS, *pl.* Gatherers. 29.

GARNEMENT, 203. *pl.* GARNEMENTIS, 231. Dress, garment. (Tr. of *stola*).

GASTFUL. Dreadful. 224.

GASTFULLI. Dreadfully. 421.

GEET. A goat. 309.

GENERALTE. Generality.

"In *generalte*," *i.e.* in general, generally. 130.

GESTIS, *pl.* Deeds. 361.

GETE, 507 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* GETITH, 271 ; *pl.* GETEN, 67 ; *pret.* GATE, 226 ; *pres. part.* GETING, 304 ; *past part.* GETEN, 105 ; GETE, 192 ; GETUN, 42. To get.

GILEFUL. Deceitful. 151, 484.

GILOURIS, *pl.* Deceivers. 480.

GIST, 284 ; *pl.* GISTIS, 406 ; GESTIS, 521. A guest.

GLEYME, *n. s.* ; lit. *gluten ;* metaph. Attraction. 377. (*See* Prompt. Parv. p. 198.)

GLEYMED, *past part.* ; lit. smeared ; *viscatus ;* metaph. caught (as it were by bird-lime) ; captivated. 314, 376. (*See* Prompt. Parv. p. 198.)

GLOSE, *v. a.*, 47 ; *past part.* GLOSID, 31. To interpret.

GLOSE, *n. s.*, 65 ; *pl.* GLOSIS, 55. A gloss ; interpretation.

GO, 238 ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* GOOST, 329 ; *3rd pers.* GOOTH, 238 ; GOITH, 237 ; GOTHE, 299, (but in a later hand ; *see* note : however, LITHE is written by the first hand, p. 27) ; *pl.* GOON, 52 ; *pret.* ȝEDE, 225, (but quoted from Wiclif's version, where *wente* also occurs, 480. Pecock himself always uses the pret. of *to wend ; e.g. wente*, 328 ; *pl. wenten*, 180) ; *imp. sing.* and *pl.* GO, 60, 175 ; *subj. 2nd pers. sing.* GO, 175 ;

3rd pers. Go, 131; *pl.* Go, 236; *also* Goon, 378; *pres. part.* Going, 476; Goyng, 167; *past part.* Goon, 204. To go.

"Which . . . hast *goon vndir* for us the lawis of deeth." 204, *i.e.* undergone.

Godhede. Godhead, 498.

Goldsmythi. The art of the goldsmith, 50.

Good, 69; Gode (rare in the singular, and possibly by a clerical error. *See* Boonys, above) 44; *pl.* usually Gode, 14; *also* Goode, 7, 96; and more rarely Good, 239, 498. Good.

Goodis, *n. s., pl.* 290; Godis, 296. Goods.

Goostli, *adj.* Spiritual (deeds), 307.

Goostli, *adv.* Spiritually. 561.

Gouernaunce, 1; *pl.* Gouernauncis, 67; Gouernaunces, 105.

(1) An ecclesiastical ordinance, 4, (and generally; rendered *gubernatio* in this sense by Bury).

(2) Practice of any kind. 67, 371, 463.

(3) Practical truth. 1, 11.

Graceful. Agreeable. 66.

Gracioseli, *adv.* By the help of grace, (opposed to *naturali*). 305.

Graffid, *past part.* Grafted. 68, 69.

Gramerci (grand merci). Thanks. 130.

Graunt fadir. A grandfather. 150.

Gree, *pl.* Grees. A degree (of any kind).

"*Grees* goon out of *gree*," *i.e.* men of school-degrees go astray. 90.

Greet, 247; Gret, 248; more rarely (in *sing.*) Grete, 244; Greete, 375; *pl.* Greete, 358; Grete, 248; *comp.* Gretter, 230, 244, (*sing.* and *pl.*); more rarely Greeter, 344; *sup.* Grettist, 248. Great.

Grew. Greek. 438.

Groundable. Capable of being grounded. 125.

Grounde, 125; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* Groundist, 6; *3rd pers.* Groundith, 33; *subj. pl.* Grounde, 46; *past part.* Groundid, 125; Grondid, 122; Ground, 29. To ground.

Groundli, *adj.* 78, 88, 90; Groundly, 413. Well-grounded (clerks, considerations, &c.)

Groundli, *adv.* Profoundly. 101.

Grucche, *v. n.* To murmur. 369, 394. Similarly *grudge* in Ps. lix. 15. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 217.

Grucchers, *pl.* Murmurers. 480.

H.

Haboundiden, *pret. pl.* Abounded. 337.

Habundaunce. Abundance. 307.

Habundaunt, 357; Habundant, 359; *comp.* Habundaunter, 306. Abundant.

Halewe, 460; *pres. pl.* Halewen, 258; *past part.* Halewid, 563; Halowid, 479. To hallow, consecrate.

Hange, *v. a.* and *n.*, 197; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Hangeth,[1] 17, Hangith,[1] 172; *pl.* Hange, 238;

pret. neut.,[2] HENGE, 199, 261; HENG, 139; *pl.* HENGEN, 22; *subj.* HANGE, 166; *pres. part.* HANGING, 221; *past part.* HANGID, 221. To hang.

([1]) These forms are written at length in the MS. by the original scribe in each case. To speak generally, however, the same verb has not both terminations, in this MS. at least; *m*, *u*, &c., being followed by *e*; *k*, *w*, &c., by *i*; *e.g.* *ȝeueth*, *spekith*. Other letters, as *d* and *g*, are not quite so constant; they are usually followed by *i*, but sometimes by *e*. *See* FYNDE, GROUNDE. At p. 46, *bringith* and *bringeth* are both found, and are written at length in the MS., but the former is in another hand. Such a form as *ȝeuith* is a corroborative proof that the correction was not made by the original scribe. *See* 264, note.

([2]) The transitive preterite (not occurring in this book) is *hanged*; but this, also, is intransitive in Ps. xii. 9.

HANGEMENT. Hanging, execution. 324.

HAPPILI. Haply. 392.

HAPPLIS. Apples. 160. (But APPLIS below.)

HARNEISID, *past part.* Harnessed, *i.e.*, dressed; said here of knives ornamented with gold. 556. *Harneys* is explained in Prompt. Parv., p. 228, by *paramentum*; where the verb also occurs.

HAUE, 1; *pres. 2nd pers. sing* HAST, 68; *3rd pers.* HATH, 95; *pl.* HAN, 2, 6, 82; *pret. sing.* HADDE, 296; *pl.* HADDE, 279, 288; HADE, 433; HADDEN, 279, 288; *imper. sing.* and *pl.* HAUE, 226, 177; *subj.* HAUE, 2; *pl.* HAUE, 168; *pres. part.* HAVING, 252; HAUYNG, 34; *past part.* HAD, 12. To have.

Peculiar usages:

(1) To maintain.

"ȝit we mowe *haue* that his ȝiftis," &c. 95.

(2) To prove.

"Thouȝ it may be *had* bi tho textis." 96.

See also p. 227, 343.

HAUNT, *n. s.* Practice. 103, 248.

HAUNTE, *v. a.*, 214; *subj. pl.* HAUNTE, 273. To practise. 214, 252.

HAUNTING, *n. s.* Practising, frequenting. 188, 236.

HAUOUR, *n. s.* 'Having,' goods, wealth. 110, 281, 344, 345. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 231.

HAYWARD. A foreman, 383, where it is explained by *overseer*. *See* Vision of Piers Ploughman, v. 13,624; and Prompt. Parv. p 234.

HE, *pers. pron. nom. m.*, and sometimes, when emphatic, *n.*; he, 1; it, 4, 8. (The nominative plural used by Pecock in all genders is THEI, 3, 5, 67.)

HEED, 52, 437; *pl.* HEEDIS, 439; HEDIS, 28, 52. A head.

HEEDHODE. The state or office of head. 439.

HEER, 118; *pl.* HEERIS, 118; HERIS, 124. Hair of the head.

HEERE, 200; HERE, 242; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* HEERITH, 156; *pl.* HEEREN, 148; *pret.* HERDE, 221; *pl.* HERDEN, 187; *subj. pl.* HEERE, 6; *pres. part.* HEERING, 74; *past part.* HERDE, 253; HERD, 208. To hear.

HEEREABLE, 74, 209; HEREABLE, 210. Capable of being heard.

HEESTIS, *pl.* Commands. 465.

HEET, *past part.* Heated, kindled. 330.

HEGGE, 541; *gen.* HEGGIS, 184; *pl.* HEGGIS, 517. A hedge.

HEGGE, *v. a.* To hedge in; to inclose. 517.

HELPE, *v. a.*, 160; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* HELPITH, 263; *pl.* HELPEN, 211; *imper.* HELPE, 261; *pres. part.* HELPING, 261; *past part.* HOLPUN, 383; HOLPE, 284. To help.

HEM. Them (in all genders). 2, 4, 67. (Properly *dat. pl.* and *acc. pl.* of HE, SCHE, IT, which are the nominatives used by Pecock, pp. 1, 7.)

HER, *poss. pron.* (strictly *gen. pl.* of HE, but used in all genders, 3, 67, 22), 9; *gen.* HERIS, 397; HERN, 479; *pl.* HER, 3. Their, theirs.

HEREMYTIS, *pl.* Hermits. 838.

HERTID, *past part.* Encouraged, 165. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, and Skelton's Works, vol. 1, p. 317, Dyce's Edition.

HILDID, *past part.*, 323; HILD, 350; HILDE, 356. Poured. (Tr. of *infusus*). *See* Gloss. Chauc., *s. v.* HYLDE.

HILDING, *n. s.* Pouring (out of texts). 89.

HILID, *past part.* Covered. 303. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, *s. v.* HILE, and Prompt. Parv. p. 240.

HIR, *pers. pron.* (*obl. case or cases* of SCHE). Her, 495, 499.

HIR, *poss. pron.* (strictly *gen.* of SCHE), 230; *pl.* HIR, 483; HER, 495. Her.

HIS, *poss. pron. m.* and *n.*, 1; *pl.* HISE, 15; (and more rarely) HIS, 9. His, 1; Its, 10, 22.

HISTORIERS. Historians. 366.

HISTORIAL. Historical. 66, 293.

HIȝED, *past part.* Raised. 249.

HIȝING, *n. s.* Elevation. (Tr. of *exaltatio*). 201.

HOLDE, 8; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* HOLDIST, 175; *3rd pers.* HOLDITH, 153; HOLDETH, 93 (but by another hand. *See* HANGE); *pl.* HOLDEN, 5; HOLDUN, 117; *pret.* HELDE, 494; *pl.* HELDEN, 233; *subj. pl.* HOLDEN, 91; *pres. part.* HOLDING, 481; HOOLDING, 71; *past part.* HOLDEN, 10; HOLD, 144; HOLDE, 5. To hold.

HOLDING, *n.s.* 5; *pl.* HOLDINGIS, 5. A tenet.

HOMELI, *adj.* Intimate (with a man). 105, 352. (With a book). 150.

HOMELI, *adv.* Intimately. 53.

HOMELYNES. Intimacy (with a god). 244.

HOND, 2; HOOND, 150; *pl.* HONDIS, 28; HOUNDIS, 30. A hand. (For *Bere an Hond*, *see* BERE).

Hool, 2 ; Hoole (but in a later hand), 66. Whole.

Hoolsum, 68 ; Holsum, 67 Wholesome.

Hosil, *v. a.*; *past part.* Hosilid, 35; Hoosilid, 135. To administer the eucharist to a person.

"Ech man ou3te be *hosilid*." 35.

Hosil, *n. s.* The eucharist. 461, 563.

How, 94 ; more rarely Hou, 336, 393.

Peculiar usages :

(1) "As soone may a viciose man . . . . . finde the dew vndirstonding of Holi Scripture, *how* soone mai a vertuose man finde;" *i.e.*, as a virtuous man may. 94.

(2) "Thei ben stabili endewid, *how* stabili," &c., *i.e.*, as stably as. 394.

Hurte ; *pret.* Hurtid, 227 ; *past part.* Hurtid, 110. To hurt.

Husewijfschip. Housewifery. 230.

I.

Iaperi, *n. s.* A mockery, piece of buffonery (equivalent to "feigned trifle" above). 138. *See* Gloss. to Chaucer, and Junius.

Iewen, *adj.* Jewish. 291.

Iewry. Judaism, *i.e.* the state of a disciple of the Jewish faith. 69.

If (never 3if in Pecock), joined with an *ind.* and *subj.* together in the following sentence :

"*If* eny man knowith not or putte not." 53.

Ilk. Every. 481.

Impliedli. By implication. 127, 164, 232.

Improue or Inproue, 70 ; *pres. part.* Improuyng, 96 ; *past part.* Improued, 5, 63, 103, 562. To disprove. Explained by "*to prove untrue*." 562.

Improuyng, *n. s.* Disproving. 5.

In, *prep.*

Peculiar usages :

(1) On.

"Hangid *in* the cros." 563.

(2) In.

"Forto vce imagis *into* the seid dew maner." 253.

"A vertu caused of God *into* a creature." 153.

(3) With respect to.

"The prouer of treuthis is *in* hem worthier than the rehercer of hem; as the lord of money is worthier *in* the money than he that hath it by mustring and schewing it oonli." 82.

(4) It is joined to many nouns where an adverb is now employed, *e.g. in special, i.e. specially.* 562 ; though this use is still retained in other cases, as *in general.*

Includingli. Inclusively. 111, 127.

Inclynable. Propitious (Tr. of *pronus*). 262.

Inconuenient, *n. s.* Inconvenience, 79, 81. (Inconuenience also occurs ; *see* pp. 263, 411.)

Inferme, *v. a.; pres. 2nd pers. sing.* Infirmyst, 175 ; *3rd pers.* Infermeth, 365. To weaken.

Infolewing, *n. s.* Following, imitation. 313.

Ingraffid, *past part.* Introduced (said of a quotation). 563.

Inlasse thanne, or In lasse than. Unless. (*See* p. 175.)

"Hou ellis schulde eny man be bold, &c. . . . *in lasse* than he hadde a stable ri3t forto ask . . . his lijflode of his paraschens?" 393.

See also pp. 51, 113, 386. *In lasse thanne* corresponds to *In as much as;* and hence emerges at once the etymology of the word *unless*, which has hitherto been the *crux lexicographorum*. *See* Richardson's Dict., *s. v.* UNLESS.

INREDING, *n. s.* Diligent reading; research. 37.

INTELLECCIOUN. Intellect, reason, (as distinguished from *affeccioun*). 67.

INTERESSE. Concernment. 87.

INTO, *prep.* (often written divisim *in to*).

Peculiar usages:

(1) Until.

"Fro Petir *into* the dai of Damasus." 360.

"*In to* tyme he be sure." 76.

See also pp. 86, 536.

(2) Towards.

"Sche dide a good werk *into* him." 181.

(3) For the furtherance of, for.

"ȝouun *into* religioun." 552.

"Sche dide it *into* the biriyng of him." 181.

See also p. 210.

IOLITE. Noisy mirth. 121. Used in a bad sense; explained by *lascivia* in Prompt. Parv. p. 264. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

IOWSTING, *n. s.* Fighting in a tournament. 256.

IUDICIALIS, *n. s. pl.* Judicial laws. 18, 19, 526.

IȝE, 3; *pl.* IȝEN, 74, 153. An eye.

K.

KAN. 245. *See* CAN.

KARK, *n. s.* 307. *See* CARK.

KEPE, *n. s.* Watch, heed. 583.

KETE. Bold. 5.

KEUERCHEFIS. 125. *See* COUERCHIEF.

KINDE, *n. s.* Nature; natural reason, 13 (*q. v.*), 153.

KINDELI, *adj.* Natural. 132.

KINDELI, *adv.* Naturally. 63, 94;

KINREDE, 278; KINRED, 173; *pl.* KINREDIS, 278. A tribe (of the Jews). *See* Ps. xcvi. 7.

KISSE, 207; *pres. pl.* KISSEN, 207; *pret. pl.* KISSIDEN, 270; KESSIDEN, 270 (bis); *pres. part.* KISSING, 555; *past part.* KISSID, 562. To kiss.

KNOULECHE, 92; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* KNOULECHITH, 344; *pl.* KNOULECHEN, 104; *pret.* KNOULICHID, 178; *pres. part.* KNOULECHING, 387; *past part.* KNOULECHID, 92. To acknowledge.

KNOWE, *v. a.* 10; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* KNOWITH, 53; *pl.* KNOWEN, 199; *pret.* KNEWE, 349; *pl.* KNEWE, 14; KNEWEN, 14; *subj. sing.* KNOWE, 313; *pl.* KNOWEN, 272; *pres. part.* KNOWING, 6; *past part.* KNOWE, 15; KNOWEN, 21; KNOWUN, 53. To know.

The Lollards called each other "*knowun men*," as being *known of God*, or *elect*, *see* p. 53; and Foxe's Martyrs, passim.

KNOWEABLE. Capable of being known. 41.

KNOWING, *n.s.* Knowledge. 2, 93.

KNYT, *past part.*, 82 ; KNYȝT, 82. Knit, joined.

KUNNE, *infin. v.a.* and *n.*, 36, 131 ; *pres. part.* KUNNYNG (*see* below); *past part.* KUNNEN, 16 ; KUNNE, 25. To know.

"Thei schulen *kunne* rede." 182.

See CAN, COUTHE.

KUNNYNG, *adj.* (strictly *pres. part.*) 93 ; *comp.* KUNNYNGER, 335. Clever, cunning.

KUNNYNG, *n.s.*, 2 ; *pl.* KUNNYNGIS, 49. Knowledge, science. *See also* p. 7, 10, 16, 54, 61, 81.

KUTTEABLE. Capable of being cut away. 160.

KUTTE, 153 ; *pret. pl.* KUTTIDEN, 534 ; *imper.* KUTTE, 306 ; *past part.* KUTT, 328 ; KUT, 515. To cut.

L.

LANGĀGE. Language. 61, 66.

LASSE, *v. n.* 344 ; LASSEE, 345. To diminish, grow less.

LAUDE, *n. s.* Praise. 197.

LAUMPE, 258 ; *pl.* LAUMPIS, 169. A lamp. (This vowel change is almost constant where the *a* is long, as *aungel, aungelis*, 8, 112, &c., but occasionally the modern orthography is found even here. *See* CHAUMBIR.)

LAUȝE, 156; LAWȝE, 156; LAUȝWE, 120 ; *pret.* LAUȝED, 120. To laugh.

LAYFE, 444 ; (*see* 91, note); more rarely LAIFE, 136, 275. The laity ; lay people. *See* Capgr. Chron., pp. 102, 260 ; Waterl. Works, vol. x. p. 219.

LECCHERIES, *pl.* Sensual courses. (Tr. of *luxurias.*) 478.

LECCHOURIS, *pl.* Fornicators, sensualists, (distinguished from AVOUTRERIS). 103.

LECHE, 3, 508 ; LECCHE, 507. Usually explained by *physician* in glossaries, but expressly distinguished from *physician* by Maundevile, p. 238 : he seems to be inferior to the physician ; much like our *apothecary*. The leche gave medicines (*see* p. 507), but was also a surgeon. (*See* Spenser, quoted in Richardson's Dict. *s. v.* ; and Prompt. Parv. p. 291).

LEDE, *v. n.* 113 ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* LEDIST, 329 ; *3rd pers. sing.* LEDITH, 344 ; *pl.* LEDEN, 479 ; *pret.* LADDE, 35 ; *imp.* LEDE, 264 ; *pres. part.* LEDING, 155 ; *past part.* LAD, 20, 214 ; LED, 479. To lead.

LEEFER, *adv.* 78, 85; LEFER, 91. (*comp.* of LEFE). Sooner, rather.

LEEFUL. Lawful. 135. For the distinction between *leeful* (*licitus*) and *lawful* (*legitimus*), *see* Prompt. Parv. p. 366.

LEEFULNES, 136 ; LEEFFULNESS, 451. Lawfulness.

LEERID, *past part.* Learned. 64, 426. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible., *s. v.* LEEREN.

LEERNE, 58 ; LERNE, 58 ; *pres. pl.* LEERNEN, 54; *pret. 2nd pers. sing.* LEERNEDIST, 62 ; *pl.* LEERNEDEN, 18 ; *pres. part.* LEERNYNG, 59 ; *past part.* LEERNED, 59 ; LERNED, 50. To learn.

LEEVIS, *pl.* 212 ; LEEUYS, 213. Leaves.

LEIE, *v. a.* 52, 145 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* LEIETH, 258 ; *pret.* LEIDE, 224 ; *pl.* LEIDEN, 309 ; *past part.* LEID, 158. To lay (a wager 145 ; siege to a place, 258 ; one's self, or anything, down, 224, 309 ; aside, 158 ; enamel on a cup, 126; out expense, 91).

LEISERFUL, *adj.* Leisurely. 541.

LEIT, *n. s.* Lightning. 482. Not the same word as LIȝT, *q. v.*, the orthography of which is uniform, apparently. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, *s. v.* LEIT.

LESE, *v. a.* 229, 400 ; *subj. pl.* LESE, 307 ; *pres. part.* LESING, 54 ; *past part.* LOST, 307. To lose.

LESING, *n. s.* 51, 351 ; LEESING, 359 ; *pl.* LESINGIS, 150. Falsehood.

LETE, 90, 160 ; *pret.* LETE, 355 ; *pl.* LETEN, 120 ; *imp.* LETE, 516 ; *pres. part.* LETING, 279 ; *past part.* LETE, 158. To let, *i. e.* permit ; let out to farm.

LETTE, 309 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* LETTITH, 309 ; *pl.* LETTEN, 3, 208; *pret. pl.* LETTIDEN, 245 ; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* LETTE, 178, 253 ; *pres. part.* LETTING, 340 ; *past part.* LETTID, 171. To let, *i. e.* to hinder.

LETTERS, *pl.* Hinderers. 3.

LETTRID. Learned. 355.

LEUE, 123 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* LEUETH, 125 ; *pl.* LEUEN, 67 ; *pret.* LEFTE, 325 ; *pl.* LEFTEN, 233 ; LEFT, 247 ; *subj. pl.* LEUE, 4 ; *pres. part.* LEUYNG, 177 ; *past part.* LEFT, 158 ; LEFTE, 158. To leave.

LEUKE REMEMBRAUNCIS. Slight or lukewarm remembrances. 184.

LEWID, 96, 198, 241 ; *comp.* LEWEDIR, 96 ; LEWDER, 488. Ignorant.

LEWIDLI, 415 ; LEWDELI, 65. Ignorantly.

LEWIDNES. Ignorance. 241.

LEYSER, 9 ; LEISER, 129 ; *pl.* LEYSERS, 395. Leisure.

LIE, *v. a.* To utter falsely.

"Many lesingis y haue herd hem *lie*." 150.

LIFT, *adj.* Left (hand). 530.

LIGGE, *v. n.* 272 ; *1st pres.* from TO LIGGE ; *3rd pers. sing.* LIGGITH, 113 ; LEGGITH, 29 ; *pl.* LIGGEN, 27, 150, 233 ; *2nd pres.* from TO LIE. *3rd pers. sing.* LIETH, 150 ; LITHE, 27 ; LIJTH, 165 ; *subj.* LIGGE, 6 ; LIE, 272 ; *pres. part.* LIGGING, 24, 31, 40, 52. To lie (prostrate; in a chamber or grave, &c. ; in wait ; together.)

LIJF, 539 ; *gen.* LYUYS, 536 ; *pl.* LIJFIS, 323. Life.

LIJFLODE. Livelihood. 342.

LIKE, *v. n.*, 142 ; LIKITH, 186 ; LIJKITH, 267 ; *pret.* LIKID, 151. To please.

"Whanne it *likith* to God." 186.

LIKELI, *adv.* In a likely manner. 133, 246.

LIKINGLI. Probably. 305.

LITIL, *adj.* and *adv.* 16 ; LITLE, 16 ; *comp.* LASSE, 84 (*see* INLASSE) ; *sup.* LEESTE, 147 ; LEEST, 272 ; LESTE, 213 ; LEST, 158. Little.

LIȝT, *n. s.* 16, 48, 97, 482 ; *pl.* LIȝTIS, 170. Light. (*See* LEIT.)

LIȝT, *adj.*, 100 ; *comp.* LIȝTER, 294 ; LIȝTIR, 268. Easy.

"It is *liȝt* for to answere." 100.

LIȝTLI. Easily. 353.

LIȝTNES. Thoughtlessness. 344, 357.

LOGGE, 521 ; *past part.* LOGGID, 521. To lodge.

LOKE, 135 ; *imper. sing.* and *pl.* LOKE, 482, 539 ; *past part.* LOKID, 77. To look.

LOLLARDIS, Lollards. 128. For the derivation, *see* Hardwick's Gloss. to Elm. Hist. Monast. Cant. Seemingly identified with Wicliffites by Pecock, however Elmham may distinguish them, p. 501. "Wycliviani, qui et "Lollardi dicti sunt." Knyghton quoted in Prompt. Parv. p. 311, *q.v.* *See also* Pict. Hist. of Eng. vol. 2, pp. 140, 141.

LOLLID, *pret.* Dangled. 374.

LOMB, 203 ; *pl.* LAMBREN, 388. A lamb.

LOND, 184 ; *pl.* LONDIS, 306. A land.

LONG, *adj.* and *adv.*, 121, 562 ; LONGE, 249 ; *comp.* LENGER, 64, 121 ; *sup.* LENGIST, 133. Long.

LONGE, *v. n.*, 34 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* LONGITH, 1 ; *pres. part.* LONGING, 183. To belong.

LONGING, *n. s.* ; *pl.* LONGINGIS, 16. An appurtenance.

LOONE. Loan, money on loan. 16.

LOORE, 68, 86 ; LOOR, 293. Doctrine.

LOTHEE. To loathe. 342.

LOTHINESSIS, *pl.* Disinclinations ("into good.") 114.

LOTTING, *n. s.* Allotment. 198, 278.

LOUCE, 441 ; *past part.* LOUSID, 441. Loosed.

LOUȝE, *v. a.*, 302 ; *imper.* LOUȝE, 302. To humble.

LOWTID, *v. a.* ; *past part.* Bowed down to (said of images). 562. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, *s. v.* LOUTE, and Prompt. Parv. p. 316.

LOWTING, *n. s.* Obeisance. 562. *See* Chaucer's Test. of Love (quoted in Rich. Dict.).

LOWȝE, 207 ; *comp.* LOUȝER, 207 ; *sup.* LOUȝIST, 207 ; LOUȝEST, 207. Low.

LUSSCHE, *v. a.* To pour forth (texts). 129. Compare 89.

LUSTI. Vigorous (speeches). 255.

LYUEREY. An allowance (of victuals from an abbey). 392.

"*Corrodium*, a *lyuerey* in an abbaye." Med. Gramm., MS., quoted in Prompt. Parv. p. 309, where *see*

Mr. Way's note on this use of the word, and on the practice of certain abbeys in dispensing liveries. *See also* Blount's Glossogr., *s. v.* LIVERY.

M.

MAISTRIE, *n. s.*
(1) Mastery, victory.
"To haue the *maistrie*." 254.
(2) A feat.
"He dide a *maistrie* passing his power." 36.
See also p. 539.
(3) Force.
"More . . . than this can not be had by *maistrie* of Poules processe" (*i.e.* text). 233.
(*See* Gloss. to Chaucer.)

MAISTRIS LIERS, *pl.* False teachers. (An inverted tr. of *magistri mendaces*. For the double plural *see* Guest in Philol. Trans. vol. 1, pp. 74–76). 478.

MAKE, *v. a.* 3; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* MAKITH, 154; *pl.* MAKEN, 3; *pret.* MADE, 146, 519; *2nd pers. sing.* MADIST, 152; *pl.* MADEN, 69; MAIDEN, 447 (but corrected by a later hand); *imp.* MAKE, 200; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* MAKE, 25, 190; *pres. part.* MAKING, 249; *past part.* MAAD, 2; MAD (1), 4; more rarely MADE, 8, 399. To make.

(1) Always written in the MS. m̃d; but *caas* is never written c̃s; *waarnyng* and *warnyng* are both written at length; so that *mad* is probably the true interpretation of the contraction. In Capgrave's Chronicle both *pret.* and *part. past* are written *mad* at length. *See* p. 5, and fac-simile (or MS. pp. 1, 175. Bibl. Univ. Cant.).

MAKEABLE. Capable of being made. 134.

MAKING, *n. s.*, 47; *pl.* MAKINGIS, 45. An institution.

MANER, 471; *pl.* MANERS, 471. A manner.
Peculiar construction:
"What *maner* men." 516.
But Pecock has also the common expression; *e. g.* "*maner of clerkis*," p. 88. *See* Gloss. to Chaucer.

MANERS, *pl.* Manors. 401.

MANHEDE, 245; MANHODE, 246, 500. Manhood, human nature (of Christ).

MANKINDE. Human nature, the human race. (Abstractedly and concretely).
"God descended into *mankinde* (*i.e.* among men), and . . . couplid to him a singuler *mankinde* (*i.e.* the nature of one of them)." 245.

MANLI, *adj.* Human (opposed to *godly*). 330.

MANLI, *adv.* In a manly manner. 341.

MANSLEER. Manslayer. 177.

MARCHAUNDIE. Merchandize. 478.

MARCHAUNDIS, *pl.* Merchants. 480.

MARCHAUNDISING, *n. s.* Trading. 158.

MARCHIONAT, *n. s.* Marquisate, (Anglicised from *marchionatus*, for which *see* Ducange):
"The *marchionat* of Anchon," *i.e.*, the marche of Ancona. 359.

MARKABLE. Remarkable (words). 447.

MASE, *v. a.*; *pres. part.* MASING, 230; *past part.* MASID, 145. To bewilder.

MASONRY, 50; MASONRIE, 49. The art of the mason.

MAUNDEMENT, 100; *pl.* MAUNDEMENTIS, 464. A commandment. (*Comaundement* also occurs, pp. 538, 464.)

MAWMET. An idol. 140, 141. (Probably derived from *Mahomet*, not from *maim*, a *scare-crow*. *See* Selden quoted in Richardson's Dict, and Prompt. Parv. p. 330, and on the other side Coleridge's Gloss. Ind. and ref. to Prof. Key.)

MAWMETRIE. Idolatry. 64.

MEDLID, *past part.* Mixed. 545.

MEEDE, *n. s.*, 389; MEDE, 388.
(1) Properly, reward, hire.
(2) Improperly, finding or maintenance, according to Pecock, but with a view to effect a special purpose. *See* his disquisition on the word, pp. 389, 390.

MEENE, *n. s.*, 164, 263; *pl.* MEENIS, 332. A medium, a means.

MEENE, *adj.* Mediatory; intervening. 332.

MEENE, *v. a.* and *n.*, 332; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* MEENETH, 263; *subj.* MEENE, 250; *pres. part.* MEENYNG, 263; *past part.* MEENED, 390.
(1) To mediate.
"Iohun *meeneth* or helpith." 263.
(2) To signify, intend. 332, 391.

MEETE, *n. s.*, 347; MEET, 347. Measure.

MEETENES. Measurement. 347.

MEETH, *n. s.* Mead, metheglin. 121.

MEIR, 215; MEYR, 518. The lord mayor.

MEMORIALIS, *n. s. pl.* Shrines (explained by *mynde-placis*). 4.

MENGID, *past part.* Mingled, mixed. 242, 252. *See* Coler. Gloss. Ind., *s. v.* MING.

MENTENE, 68; MENTEYNE, 69; *past part.* MENTENED, 5. To maintain.

MENYNGLI, *adv.* In one's intention. 444.

MERCIMENTIS, *pl.* Amercements, deprivations. 367 (distinguished there from several allied words, from *fines* among the rest, by which it is commonly explained, as by Nares, for example, *s. v.* AMERCE.) *Deprivation* is, perhaps, the most correct rendering of *amercement*. *See* Johnson's Dict., *s. v.* AMERCE.

MERELS, *pl.* The game of nine-men's morris. 120.
"A particular table with black spots at the angles and intersections of the lines. Each party had nine men. Strutt gives a figure with a full description of the game. Strutt, pl. 30, p. 237."
Fosbr. Encycl. Antiq., p. 680. (The game is still played in some places).

MERYTORIE. Meritorious. 561.

MERYTORILI, *adv.* Meritoriously. 120, 235.

METE TABLE. Dinner-table. 267.

MEYNE, 235, 237, 375, 545 ; MEYNEE, 108. Retinue, train, household. *See* Gloss. Maund., Wicl. Bible, and Chauc. ; *also* Coleridge's Gloss. Ind., Prompt. Parv. p. 332., and Nares. (From the Fr. *mesnie* or *maignée*, or rather from the A. S. *menegu*.)

MICHE, MYCHE, MOCHE (all on p. 130) ; MICH, 195 ; *comp.* MORE, 14 ; MORRE, 65 ; MO, 14 ; *sup.* MOOST, 480 ; *adj.* and *adv.* Much. Often joined with adjectives and adverbs, as :

"*Myche* likeli evidencis." 227.
"To *miche* homeli dele." 53.

MORE is occasionally added to a comparative, apparently for emphasis.

"For *more* pleyner understanding," 344.

(Compare *Most Highest* in the Prayer-book).

MIDDIS, *n. s.*, 142 ; MYDDIS, 142. Midst.

MIRACLE, 186 ; MYRACLE, 186 ; *pl.* MIRACLIS, 187 ; MYRACLIS, 187 ; MIRACLES, 187 ; MYRACULIS, 188. A miracle.

MO, *n. s.* More part, greater number.

"The *mo* of the peple." 522.

See MICHE.

MODIR or MODER, 159, 555 ; *gen.* MODIRIS, 9 ; MODRIS, 66 ; *pl.* MODRIS, 397. A mother (literally and figuratively). Used also as an *adj.*, *modir tunge*. 159.

MONASTIK. Solitary, *i.e.* referring to a single person, opposed to *politik*. 107.

MONESTE. To admonish. 445.

MONKEHODE. Office of a monk. 460.

MORALTE. Morality. 155.

MOREWE, *n. s.* Morrow, following day. 24.

MORNTIDE. Morning. 24.

MORTHER, *n. s.* Murder. 516.

MOTYUES, *pl.* Reasons.

"He muste take his euydencis and hise *motyues*." 489.

MOWE, *v. n. infin.* To be able.

"To *mowe* lawfulli be." 147.
"No man schal *mowe* putte it doun." 69.

See also pp. 104, 141, 297. The *pres.* and *pret.* are used as auxiliary verbs.

Pres. sing. 1*st pers.* MAI, 147; 2*nd pers.* MAIST, 117, 175 ; 3*rd pers.* MAI, 8, 13, (agreeing with two singular nominatives); MAY, 12 ; MAIE, 250 ; *pl.* MOWE, 125, 120 (agreeing with *ech*) ; MOWEN, 253, 262, 263 ; very rarely MOUN, 273 ; also MAY (agreeing with peple). 182 ; *pret.* MYȝTE, 1, 17 ; 2*nd pers. sing.* MYȝTIST, 271 ; *pl.* MYȝTE, 279 ; MIȝTEN, 120. (*See* Guest in Phil. Trans., vol. 2, p. 156, and Prompt. Parv. p. 346).

MYLDE, 203 ; MYILDE, 205.

(1) Mild (Tr. of *mansuetus*). 203.

(2) Pious (song ; Tr. of *pius* ; cf. *milde-gaben*, Germ., *i.e.* pious gifts). 205.

MYNDE, *n. s.* Remembrance.

"The *mynde* of the benefet." 236.

See also p. 114.

MYNDE PLACIS. Shrines of saints. 4, 49. *Memoriæ* (August).

MYNDING, *n. s.* ; *pl.* MYNDINGIS, 191. A reminding ; act of calling to mind.

MYNDING, *adj.* Reminding. Explanation of *rememoratijf.* 137.

MYNYSTRE, *v. a.*, 85; *past part.* MYNYSTRID, 49, 91. To administer, apply.

"Whanne a treuthe is . . . . *mynystrid* to hem." 49.

"Expensis therto . . . . leid out and *mynystrid*." 91.

MYS, *adv.* 564; MIS, 60; AMYS, 57. Amiss, mis- (in composition). Occasionally written as part of a word, *e. g.* :—

"This *myschaunce*." 68;

but more usually written and construed as a distinct word.

"This now rehercid foule and *mys* bering." 564.

"Thei vndirstonden thilk text *amys*." 57.

"To hem that *amys* treten the Apocalips." 64.

"Aȝens the *mis* vndirstonding." 60.

MYSTI, *adj.* Mystic (Tr. of *misticus*). 203. *See* Capgr. Chron. p. 107, where it similarly signifies *mystical;* Prompt. Parv. p. 340.

N.

NAMELICH, 2; NAMELICHE, 188. (Changed into *namely* in Bury's citations.)

(1) Especially. 2.

(2) (More rarely) At any rate.

"ȝouun or *namelich* bihiȝt." 404.

See also pp. 25, 394.

NE.

(1) (As *disjunct. particle.*) Nor, (used to disconnect *small* clauses.)

"Not the lasse dyuerse, *ne* neuer the lasse," &c. 50.

"Neither mete *ne* drink, *ne* hors *ne* asse *ne* man *ne* womman." 227.

"Thei schulden drinke no wijn, neither ale *ne* bere, neither sider, neither any drinke which mai make drunke." 292.

(2) (As *cond. neg. particle.*)

"*Ne* were that," &c., *i.e.*, were it not that. 394.

"If *ne* were this forbering fro touche of money, y schulde loue money more." *i.e.*, if there were not, &c. 559.

See also 100.

NEDID, *past part.* Necessitated, compelled (to live in a certain manner). 320.

NEDITH, *impers. v.* It is necessary.

"That mannys lawe forbedith not . . . . . the seid endewing *nedith* not to proue." 320.

But also—

"*It nedith* not that," &c. 151, 152.

NEEDIS, *adv.* 9; NEDIS, 188. Necessarily. The full expression is *needis* (or *nedis*) *cost*, (occurring also in Chaucer, Cant. Tales, v. 1479).

"And therfore *needis* cost it muste be grauntid." 301.

See also pp. 141, 372, 393, 399; and Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 338 (New Series), where it is explained, *by way* (cost) *of necessity*, the *needis* being properly a genitive.

NEEDISLY, 192; NEDISLY, 295; NEEDISLI, 372. Necessarily.

NEIȝBOREHODE. Neighbourship, relationship. 512.

NEIȝE, *v. n.* 479; *imper.* NEIȝE, 225; *subj. pl.* NEIȝE, 276. To approach, come near.

NEIȝING, *n. s.* 554; NYȝING, 555; *pl.* NEIȝINGIS, 556. The act of approaching.

NEOMENYE. Feast of the new moon. 481.

NETHERER, 1; *pl.* NETHERERS, 424; NETHERERIS, 426. An inferior.

NETHERTE. Inferiority. 416, 425.

NEUERNEITHER, *pron.* Neither the one nor the other. 14. (Also written disjunctim NEUER NEITHER, 52, 53.) *See* EUEREITHER and NOT EER NEITHER.

NEUERTHELATIR. Nevertheless. 374.

NEUTRALIS, *pl.* An appellation or nickname of a certain party among the Lollards, who probably held some matters of belief or practice to be indifferent. 87.

NEWE, *adj.* New.

Peculiar usages :

("To reherce a thing) of the *newe*," *i.e.* over again, anew. 366, 378.

"Religiosite foundun of *newe* by men." 532. *i.e.* lately, newly.

NILE, 98 ; NYLE, 52. (Formed from *ne* and *will*, as *nolo* from *volo*.)

Subj. pr.

"Whoeuere wole or *nyle*." 428.
"Wole he, *nyle* he." 52.
"Wole thei, *nile* thei." 98.

Imper.

"*Nile* ȝe deeme." 109.

See also pp. 176, 418 ; but all the instances of the imperative are Scriptural quotations.

See Gloss. Wicl. Bible, *s. v.* NYL ; Coleridge's Gloss. Ind., *s. v.* WILL.

NO BUT. Except. 224.

NO. Used redundantly with a negative.

"Thei be not necessarie, neither thei ben in *no* notable degree better." 468.
"*No* text gooth not so fer." 277.

See also pp. 44, 361.

NOBILITEES, *pl.* Noble qualities. 114.

NOBLE. The gold coin so called, from the purity of its material, first struck by Edward III., and weighing in the time of Henry VI. 108 grains. 402.

NOIOSE. Noxious. 303.

NOO. Occasionally written for No. (*adj.*)

"*Noo* bischop." 102.

(where *no* also occurs.)

NOON, *adj.* (*sing.* and *pl.*) ; *pl.* NOONE, 124. No.

"*Noon* newe prouyng." 40.
"*Noon* opener treuthis." 97.
"*Noon* othere iȝen . . . and *noon* other power." 74.

In combination with *One :*

"Sithen *noon* oon kinde." 186.

In composition = *Non* in modern English :

"Withoute *noon* being." 242.

(Perhaps only a lengthened form of *noo*.)

NOTABILITE, 471 ; *pl.* NOTABILITEES, 474. An observation.

NOT EER NEITHER. Neither the one nor the other. 447. *See* NEUERNEITHER.

NOUȜWHERE. Nowhere. 42, 118, 211. (*Nowhere* also occurs 208).

NURISCH, *n. s.* A nurse. 219.

NYCE. Fastidious.

"*Nyce*, fonned scisme sowers." 139, 534.

See Prompt. Parv. p. 355.

NYȜE, *adj.* and *adv.* 361 ; *comp.* NEER, 511 ; NYȜER, 272 ; *sup* NEXT, 369. Nigh. "*At next* Immediately. 369.

NYȜNES. Proximity. 272.

O.

Obeischie. To obey. 420. (*Obeie* also occurs 421).

Obseruaunce. Cautious observation. 226.

Occasionarili. Occasionally. 158, 340.

Of, *prep.*

Peculiar usages:

(1) With.

"To loue God *of* al thin herte." 293.

(2) Joined to certain words it makes them equivalent to adverbs.

"*Of* hard"=hardly. 294.

Of, *adv.* Off. 52, 109.

Office, *v. n.* 173; *pret. pl.* Officieden, 174; *pres. part.* Officiyng, 173. To officiate, perform divine service. (*Officicing* and *officicieden* also occur on pp. 173, 174, which are probably mere clerical errors: if not, they must, of course, be referred to a present *officice*.)

Officiyng, *n. s.* Performance of divine services or offices. 173, 522, 538.

On lyue. Alive. 535. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, and Jamieson's Dict., *s. v.* Gloss. Chaucer, *s. v.* On and A.

Oon. One. 4.

Oone; *pres. part.* Oonyng, 271; *past part.* Ooned, 41. To unite. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 365.

Oonheed, 449; Oonhede, 505. Unity.

Oonis, 359; Oonys, 363. Once.

Oonli. Only. 1.

Ooth, 344; *pl.* Oothis, 484. An oath.

Open, *adj.* Evident. 1, 232.

Opened, *past part.* Made open, or evident. 232.

Openyng, *n. s.* Explanation. (Expl. by *doing to wite*.) 1.

Opinioun-holders. An appellation of a party among the Lollards. 87.

Or . . . or=Either . . . or. 516.

Ordinalis, *pl.* Service-books (containing the directions for celebrating the mass). 203.

Orologis. Dials. 119. (Distinguished from Clok).

Ostries, *pl.* Inns. 521, 523.

"*Ostries* clepid innes forto logge gistis." 521.

Othir, 4; Other, 2; *pl.* usually Othere, 2; Othire 45 (so written at length, but in a later hand); more rarely Other, 68. Other.

Also used as ἄλλος in Greek, for *besides*.

"Both preestis and *othere* laymen." 199.

Ouer, *adv.* Besides.

"And *ouer* ȝe suffren not him do enything." 466.

This word is also used adverbially (=*nimis*), and is prefixed to many adjectives and adverbs, and sometimes written as part of the same word; *e. g.*,—

"*Ouer* thouȝtful, and *ouer* carkful, and *ouermyche* louying toward them." 377.

It hardly seems worth while to include these in a glossary, because the words are really distinct.

Ouer, *prep.*, 2; Ouere, 428. Besides.

"Rememoratijf signes *ouer* and with heerable signes." 209.

See also pp. 2, 13, 47, 358.

Ouerer, 1, 2; *pl.* Ouerers, 105, 299, 393. A superior. (*See* Pecock's Book of Faith, p. 29.)

Ouerte, 299; *pl.* Ouertees, 426. Superiority.

Ouerthrowe, 256; *past part.* Ouerthrowe, 208. To overthrow. (The *pret.* of the simple verb is *threwe*. 260.)

Ouerthwert. Perverse. 479. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

Ouerwaite, *v. a.* To look after. 449.

Ourned, *past part.* Adorned. 193.

Out, *prep.* Apart from.

> "More wijldeli than thei schulden be suffrid for to write *out* of these now seid causis." 72,
>
> "Not oonli in . . . writingis *out* of Holi Writ, but also Holi Writt usith," &c. 257.

Outboocing, *n. s.* A bossing out in relief. 138. *See* Booce. *Also* Prompt. Parv. p. 41, which explains Bocyne owte by *turgeo*.

Outdrau3t. Abstract.

> "In the extract or *outdrau3t* of The Donet," *i. e.* in The Poor Men's Mirror. 541. *See* Introduction, p. lxxi.

Outher, *adv.* Either. 395.

Outre; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Outrith, 471; *pres. part.* Outring, 89, (where *vttring* also occurs); *past part.* Outrid, 90. To utter.

Ou3where. Anywhere. 6, 26, 47, 211, 444.

Owe (*See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, *s. v.*); *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Owith, 295; *pret.* Ou3te, 7; Out, 218; *2nd pers.* Ou3tist, 3; *pl.* Ou3te or Ou3ten, 71, 142, 157 (*see* note), 232 (*see* note).

From this preterite (used sometimes then for a present = *debeo*, as also now,) came a second pret., which occurs in the *pl.* Ou3tiden, 157: *I owe, ought.* Compare στήκω, formed from ἔστηκα; and *wonted* from *wont, q.v.*

Oynement. Ointment. 162.

P.

Paied, *past part.* Contented. 271, 303, 528, 552. *See* Apaied. (But *paie* and *paied* occur in the modern sense. 382).

Pament. Pavement. 215. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 387.

Paraschens, *pl.* 391; Parachenys, 393; Paraschenis, 394; Parischenys, 416. Parishioners.

Parcellingis, *pl.* Partitions. 400.

Parchemyn. Parchment. 25.

Pareable. Capable of being pared away. 160.

Parti, 39; Party, 39; *pl.* Parties, 1. A part.

Passing, *adv.* 181; Passyng, 181. Surpassingly.

Pees. Peace. 204.

Peise. Weight, pendulum of a clock. 118. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 390.

Peple, 4; *pl.* Peplis, 464, 493. People. Joined to a *sing.* and *pl.* verb in the same sentence.

> "The *peple* . . . witnessith . . . and crien." 204.
>
> "Whanne the *peplis* weren clepid." 464. (From Wiclif.)

PERAUENTURE, 3; PERAUENTUR, 72. Perhaps.

PERFIT, 196; *pl.* PERFITE, 233; *comp.* PERFITER, 193, 348; PERFIȝTER, 560. Perfect.

PERFITING, *pres. part.* Making perfect. 549.

PERFITLI, 12, 52; *comp.* PERFITLIER, 253. Perfectly.

PERFITNES. Perfectness, perfection, 348.

PERSEN, *pres. pl.* Pierce, enter (houses). 479.

PERSOON, 1; *pl.* PERSOONES, 2, 393; PERSOUNS, 394; PERSOONYS, 470.

(1) A parson. 393, 894.

(2) A person.

"A lay *persoon*." 2, 3.

PESIBILI. Peaceably. 363.

PESIBLE. Peaceable. 88.

PEYNE, 424; PEINE, 212; PEIN, 213, *n. s.* Punishment.

(1) Correction (used to explain *ȝerde*). 424, 425. *See also* 429, where however it may signify pain, anguish.

(2) Labour. 214.

PHASE. The Passover. 527.

PHILSOPHI, 7; PHILSOPHIE, 24. Philosophy. (*Philosophie* occurs p. 39, but in a later hand.)

PHILSOPHIR, 27, 308; *pl.* PHILSOPHIRIS, 14. A philosopher. "*The philsophir*" (pp. 27, 308) is the title given to Aristotle exclusively, and he is similarly called *Philosophus* by Aquinas in innumerable passages, and perhaps by the schoolmen generally.

PILIOUN, 88; PILLEOUN, 89; *pl.* PILIOUNS, 88; PILLEONS, 92. A doctor's hat. "Et tunc solum "doctores in theologia utebantur rotundis pileis cum prædicabant clero seu populo, et "quale ornamentum capitis est "pileum declarat S. Hieronymus "in Epistola ad Fabiolam. Sed "heu! jam sunt signa sine signatis seu significatis in pluribus," &c. Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. in Append. ad Hemingford. Ed. Hearne, vol. 2, p. 541.

PISTLE, 21 (where *epistle* also occurs), 30; *pl.* PISTLIS, 118. An epistle, letter.

PITE, 124; PITEE, 303.

(1) Piety. 124, 303, 262 (where "*hauing pitee*" is equivalent to "*piteful*," *q. v.*)

(2) More rarely used in the modern sense = Pity, p. 324 (where it is contrasted with *cruelnes*).

PITEFUL. Pious. 200, 262. (Tr. of *pius*.)

PLEGGE, *n. s.* Pledge. 495.

PLENTEUOSE. Plentiful. 89.

PLENTEUOSELI. Plentifully. 94.

PLESAUNCE. Pleasure, *i. e.*:

(1) Subjectively, Liking (of the people). 6, 89.

(2) Objectively, Pleasurable service (both in a good and bad sense).

"Into *plesaunce* bi which y wolde plese God." 90.

"Prechers ȝauen hem to flaterie and to *plesaunce*." 305.

(3) Caprice. 393, 426.

PLESAUNTIS, *pl.* Conveniences. 523. Probably an error for *plesauncis* (*c* and *t* being scarcely distinguishable).

PLITE, 286 ; PLIJT, 517 ; PLIJTE, 307 ; *pl.* PLITES, 220.

(1) Plight, *i. e.* State, condition. 286, 307, 517.

(2) Plight, *i. e.* Engagement. 220.

POINTE, 184 ; POINT, 236 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* POINTITH, 125 ; *pret. pl.* POINTIDEN, 552 ; *past part.* POINTID, 125, 184. To appoint.

POINTING, *n. s.* Appointment. 184.

POPEHODE.

(1) The state or office of a pope. 426, 439.

(2) The reign of a pope. 357.

PORE. Poor. 6.

POWRE, *v. n.* To pore (in a book). 87.

POWRING, *n. s.* Poring. 85.

PRACTIK, *n. s.* Practice. 269.

PRECE, *n. s.* Press (of people). 271.

PRECHEABLE. Capable of being preached upon (as process or texts). 89.

PRECHER, 88 ; *pl.* PRECHERS, 159 ; PRECHOURIS, 159. A preacher.

PRECIOSITE. Expensiveness. 553.

PREESTIAL. Priestly. 450.

PREISEABLE. Worthy to be praised. 173.

PRENT, *n. s.* Imprint ; image. 38.

PRESENTLI, *adv.* By way of presence.

"God is lijk *presentli* euery where," *i.e.*, in an equally present manner. 193.

PREUED, *past part.* Approved. 306.

PRINCEHODE. The state or office of a prince. 429.

PRISONED, *past part.* Imprisoned. 56.

PRISONYNG, *n. s.* Imprisonment. 57.

PROBABILNES. Probability. 133.

PROCEDE, 453 ; *pres. pl.* PROCEDEN, 453 ; *past part.* PROCEDID, 380. To proceed, argue.

"Aȝens al this blamyng it is *procedid*," *i.e.*, argued. 565.

PROCES, 55 ; PROCESSE, 355 ; *pl.* PROCESSIS, 93. A part or passage in a book.

"Eny *proces* or parti writen in Holi Writt." 55.

"Eny other book or *processe* or text of the Newe Testament." 65

"A long *proces* of feith writun in the Bible," *i.e.*, a long doctrinal passage, or argument. 30.

"That it (the Tripartite History) schulde be contynued in progresse and in *processe* to The Chirchis Storie" (of Eusebius), *i.e.*, so as to form a part of it. 355.

"It stondith well with the *proces* (text) of Poul in this present *processe*" (chapter). 304.

See also p. 52, 396.

PROCUTOUR.

(1) Steward. 389.

(2) Explained by *attorney*. 396, *q. v.*

PROPICIATORIE. Mercy-seat (ἱλαστήριον). 174.

PROPRE, 49 ; PROPIR, 389 ; *superl.* PROPRIST, 189 ; PROPERIST, 166 ; PROPIRIST, 431. Peculiar, proper.

"His *propre* to him boundis." 49.

PROSE. The second part of a response in a divine office, a sequence. 200, 262.

"*Prosæ* quas nunc vulgo sequentias nominant."

Orth. Grat. in Br. Fasc. Rer., p. 461.

"Neque enim Romana ecclesia ullas novit *prosas*."

Erasm. in Br. *u. s.* The *prose* mentioned by Pecock is written in rhyming *verse*.

PROWER. Provider. 467. (Explained by *purueier*, 468.)

PSEUDO (used occasionally as a distinct word by Pecock). Counterfeit.

"What so greet myscheef schulde . . . haue come bi . . . . ricches in tho *pseudo*, as came bi her pouerte in hem, whanne thei diffameden the trewe apostlis?" 343.

See also p. 493. Similarly Schol. Par. De peric. Eccl.

"Sic ergo patet ex prædictis, qui sunt penetrantes domos et qui sunt *pseudo*."

App. ad Br. Fasc. Rer., p. 22, and in other places of the same treatise. Elsewhere Pecock uses it in composition or connexion with *Apostilis*, p. 342.

PURE, *adj.* Alone, by itself.

"The rewme of *pure* Englond." 436.

A modification of the common use in such expressions as "*pure volunte*," p. 457, *i.e.* mere caprice.

PURSING, *n. s.* The bearing in a purse. 555.

PURTENANCIS, 212; PURTENAUNCIS, 226. Appurtenances, (furniture of the temple, 226; ornaments of an image, 164, 212.)

PUTTE, *v. a.* and *n.*, 55; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* PUTTITH, 73; *pl.* PUTTEN, 199; *pret.* PUTTID, 486; *pl.* PUTTIDEN, 67; *imper.* PUTTE, 55; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* PUTTE, 166, 102; *pres. part.* PUTTING, 340; *past part.* PUT, 96; PUTT, 117. To put; add.

"If eny man schal *putte* to hem, *putte* Godde upon him . . . veniauncis." 55.

PURUEIE, *v. n.*, (and more rarely *a.* 523), 278, 375; *pret.* PURUEIED, 210, 279, 523; PURVEIED, 523; *past part.* PURUEIED, 66; PURVEIED, 337. To provide.

PURUEIER. Provider. 468.

PURUYAUNCE, 439; *pl.* PURUIAUNCIS, 334. Provision.

Q.

QUEER, 205; *pl.* QUERIS, 183. A choir.

QUERELIS, *pl.* Quarrels. 393.

QUESTMONGERS, *pl.* Informers, persons who make a trade of lawsuits. 516, 540. Distinguished by Pecock from *jurors*, though sometimes used in that sense. *See* Nares' Gloss., *s. v.* QUESTMAN, QUESTMONGER. Lewis (Life of Pecock, p. 142) understands Pecock to mean by this word *pardonmongers*; but this is impossible: they were indeed called *quæstores* (*see* Prompt. Parv. p. 383), and thus Lewis' error may be accounted for.

QUYK, *adj.*, 221; *pl.* QUYKE, 151; *comp.* QUYCKER, 243.

(1) Alive.

"A *quyk* man." 221.

(2) Lively.

"*Quyk* remembraunce." 183.

"No *quyk* foot forto go." 221.

QUYKEE, 237; *subj.* QUYKEE, 7. To revive, quicken.

QUYKLI, *adv.* In a lively manner 47, 235.

QUYTE, *v. a.* To requite. 382.

R.

RATELER. A rattling spouter (of texts). 88. *See* Jamieson's Dict.

RATHIR, *comp.* of RATH. (*See* Coler. Gloss. Ind.)

(1) Sooner.

"*Rathir* or latir." 94, 95.

(2) More.

"Lijk miche or more and *rather*." 11.

RAUEYN, *n. s.*, 409 ; RAVEIN, 429. Rapine. (Tr. of *rapina.*)

RECCHE, 7 ; *past part.* RECKID, 182. To care for, reck.

RECHELES. Reckless. 307.

RECHELESNES. Recklessness. 344.

RECLAIME, *n. s.* 386 ; RECLAYME, 386. A protest against a thing.

RECLAME, *v. n.*, 398 ; *pres. part.* RECLAYMYNG, 398. To protest ; so explained, p. 398 ; this sense, however common now, is not the ordinary one in the older writers.

RECLUSIS, *pl.* Anchorites. *See* Prompt. Parv. pp. 142, 425.

RECONUENCIOUN. Covenant. 397.

REDE, 213 ; REEDE, 52 ; *pres.* REDITH, 6 ; *pl.* REDEN, 107 ; *imper.* REDE, 255 ; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* REDE, 58, 59 ; *pres. part.* REDING, 277 ; REEDING, 59 ; *past part.* RED, 496 ; RAD, 496. To read.

REDIER. Easier. 336. (*Redi* occurs in the common sense in the next sentence.)

REDILI. Evidently.

"The first premisse is *redili* trewe." 129.
"Ful ofte *redili* thei discorden." 320, *q. v.*

REDRESSING, *n. s.* A dressing up again. 86.

REGNE, *v. n.*, 299, 315 ; *pret. pl.* REGNIDEN, 363 ; *past part.* REGNED, 362. To reign (joined with *upon*).

REIATED, *past part.* Rejected ? 139. Explained by *chidden* in Lewis' Life of Pecock, p. 89.

REIOICE, 341, 398 ; *pret.* REIOICED, 362. To enjoy. *See* Waterland's Works, vol. x. p. 266, and Coleridge's Gloss. Ind., *s. v.* REIOSHE. (Pecock does not use the word in the modern sense, but employs IOIE instead, p. 28.)

RELEEF, 182 ; *pl.* RELIFIS, 114. A relic (of a Saint). So explained in both places. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 428.

RELIGIOSE, *adj.* and *subst.*, 319 ; *pl.* RELIGIOSIS, 504 ; RELIGIOSES, 504.

(1) Living under monastic rule, a regular, *u. s.*

(2) Religious, pious. 485, *q. v.* When used substantively it has of course a plural, *e. g.*

"Suche *religioses* maken." 504.

When taken as an adjective the plural form is properly the same as the singular, thus :

"The *religiose* persoones." 544.

But Pecock has also "*religiosis persoones*," p. 523.

See Guest in Philol. Trans. vol. 1, pp. 74–76.

RELIGIOSITE, 453 ; *pl.* RELIGIOSITEES, 531. A system of monastic observances.

RELIGIOUN.

(1) Properly (according to Pecock, 484, 485,) A restraint imposed by God or man additional to the restraint of reason, *i. e.* a monastic or other rule. *See* p. 525, for a discussion on the word.

(2) Improperly, A restraint imposed only by reason, 485, *i. e.*, religion (in the modern sense).

(3) In both these senses combined. 486, *q. v.*

RELIK, 182 ; *pl.* RELIKIS, 182, 203 ; RILIKIS, 203. A relic (of a Saint).

REMANENT, *adj.* (or rather *pres. part.*) Remaining.

"The *remanent* parti." 39.

Also used substantively, as the modern *remnant.*

"The *remanent* of . . . Goddis lawe." 40

REMEMBRATIJF. Used in the same sense as *rememoratijf*, pp. 546, 547, and probably a clerical error for it. *See* note. The word, however, occurs in Pecock's Poor Men's Mirror, MS. p. 19.

REMEMBRER.

(1) One that recalls to the mind of another. 26, 219.

(2) One that recalls to his own mind. 171.

REMEMORACIOUN. The act of recalling to mind. Not quite synonymous with *remembrance*, with which Pecock associates it :

"Into *rememoracioun* and remembrance." 210.

See also p. 182.

REMEMORATIJF. Reminding. Explained by "*mynding.*" Epithet of *signs.* 136, 209, 210.

REMEMORAUNCE. Remembrance, (a strict synonym). 171.

RENNE, 41, 71 ; *pres. pl.* RENNEN, 90 ; *pres. part.* RENNYNG, 120, 346. To run. (The *past part.* RUNNE occurs in Pecock's Donet, quoted in the Introduction, p. xxi.)

RENNYNGLI. Explained by *concurrently*, 463. *See* p. 464.

REPE MAN. A reaper. 383.

REPREUE, *imp. pl.* To reprove. 481. (Quoted from Wiclif ; Pecock himself uses the modern form, p. 488.)

REPROUABILI. In a manner to be reproved. 49, 50.

REPROUES (*pl.* of REPROUE, which is used by Gower). Reproofs. 476. Compare BILEEUE.

REPUGNANT, *adj.* Inconsistent. 408.

REPUGNE.

(1) To fight (joined with *aȝenst*). 254.

(2) To be inconsistent ("bitwixe hem silf"). 408.

REPUGNERS, 208, 211; REPUNGNERS, 208. Impugners.

RERE. Back again ?

"Forto hem aske *rere* haue tho tithis." 392.

i.e. to ask them to return the tithes back, apparently.

RESTREYNE, *n. s.* Restraint. 394.

REULE, 416 ; REWLE, 297 ; *pres. sing.* REULITH, 297 ; *pl.* REULEN, 67 ; *pret. pl.* REULIDEN, 242 ; *past part.* REULID, 242.

"It *reulith* . . . prelatis into pouerte," *i.e.* obliges. 297.

REULEABLE. Capable of being ruled. 242.

REWARD, *n. s.*
(1) Properly, Pay for work done. *See* Pecock's remarks, p. 389.
(2) Improperly, Maintenance, according to Pecock, p. 390. *See* MEEDE.
(3) In rewàrd of=in respect of; in comparison of.
"In an vnpropir maner in *reward* of the first maner." 225.
"Tho han be fewe in *reward* of the othere." 541.
See also p. 251.

REWE, 233, 491; *pl.* REWIS, 215. A row.
"Sewyng in *rewe*," *i.e.* in order. 491.
Cf. AREWE, which is explained by *seriatim* in Prompt. Parv. p. 14.

REWME, 86; *pl.* REWMES, 370. A realm.

REYNY, *adj.*, 183; also REYNE, 146, 554. Rainy.

RIAL. Royal. 40.

RIALTE. Royalty.
"In his moost *rialte*," *i.e.* at the height of his power. 354.

RICHES, 326; RICCHES, 99; RICHESSE, 343; *pl.* RICHESSIS, 296. Riches.
"Ech *riches*." 345.
"The *riches* is." 326.

RICHING, *n. s.* Enrichment. 327.

RISCHE, 166; *pl.* RISCHIS, 230. A rush. In the latter place the *Acorus Calamus*, L. is probably intended.

RIȝTWISNES, 17, 181; RIȝTWISNESSE, 450. Righteousness.

RODY, *adj.* Ruddy. 24.

ROMBE, *adj.* and *adv.*, 272, 553; *comp.* ROMBER, 78, 79, 559. Remote, remotely.
"Thei knelen *rombe* fer ech from othir." 553.
"The *romber* and ferther reule." 78.
"Ferther fro thens in *rombe*." 366.
"More or lasse, nyȝer or *romber*." 272.
See Waterland's Works, vol. x. p. 262. Compare AROMBE.

ROODE, 194; RODE, 194. A cross.

S.

SACRILEGI, 409; SACRILEGIE, 409. Sacrilege.

SAD. Grave, solid. 68, 91, 129.

SADELARIE. The craft of the saddler. 49.

SADNES. Gravity. 232.

SAREZENIS, *pl.* Saracens. 99.

SAUORY. Agreeable (delivery of a sermon). 89.

SAUTER. The Psalter. 247.

SCANT, *adj.* Scanty; few. 184, 530.

SCANTLI, *adv.* Scarcely. 15, 88.

SCHAFT, 29; *pl.* SCHAFTIS, 28. Main stem or trunk of a tree. Explanation of *tronchon*.

SCHAL, *v. aux.*, 1*st* and 3*rd pers. sing.*, 4; 2*nd pers. sing.* SCHALT, 119; SCHALTE, 175; *pl.* SCHULEN, 6; SCHULE, 342. Shall. *Schal* occurs once, p. 293, (but certainly by a clerical error,) for 2*nd pers. sing.*; *see* note.

SCHAME, *v. n.* To be ashamed. 177.

SCHAMEFASTNES. Modesty. 124. (From N. T., where our version retains it in a corrupt form Shamefacedness).

Scheep, 118; *pl.* Schep, 225; Scheep, 225. A sheep.

Scherpli. Sharply. 2.

Schilingis, *pl.* Shillings, but only used as money of account, till the time of Henry VII., who first coined the shilling.

'Thei couthen not rekene a summe into an hundrid *schilingis*." 306.

Scho, 225, 231; *pl.* Schoon. 347. A shoe.

Schulde, *v. aux.*, 1*st* and 3*rd pers. sing.*, 120; Schude, 176; 2*nd pers. sing.* Schuldist, 444; *pl.* Schulden, 34, 120; Schulde, 30, 123, 182; Schuden, 440. Should.

Sclaundre, *n. s.*, 348; *pl.* Sclaundris, 514. Scandal, offence.

Sclaundre, *v. a.*, 307; *pres. part.* Sclaundring, 534; *past part.* Sclaundrid, 513. To scandalise.

Scole, 328; *pl.* Scolis, 90.

(1) A school for academical exercises. 90.

(2) A school of heretics. 90.

(3) Schooling; discipline. 328.

See also Pecock's Book of Faith, p. 17.

Scrowis, *pl.* Scrolls. (Tr. of *pictacia chartarum*). 530.

Se, 74; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Seeth, 450; *pl.* Seen, 32; *pret.* Sie, 186, 225; Si3e, 34, 425; Si3, 225; Sau3e, 305; *pl.* Sien, 187; Sawen, 246; *imper. sing.* and *pl.* Se, 143, 253; *pres. part.* Seing, 74; Seyng, 232; *past part.* Seen, 143. To see.

Peculiar usage:

"Alle thingis *seen*." *i. e.*, being duly considered. 186.

Seable. Capable of being seen. 74, 162, 545.

Seelde, 221; Seeld, 537; Seeldem, 77. Seldom.

Seie, 16; Sei, 62; Seye, 163; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* Seist, 172; *3rd pers.* Seith, 63; *pl.* Seien, 258; *pret.* Seide, 63; *pl.* Seiden, 198; *imper.* Seie, 16; *pl.* Seie, 86; *subj. sing.* Seie, 264, 317; *2nd pers. pl.* Seie, 31, 253; *pres. part.* Seiyng, 204; *past part.* Seid, 23; Seide, 200; Seyde, 179. To say.

Sende, 388; Send, 127; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Sendith, 52; *pret.* Sende, 360; *pl.* Senden, 376; *subj.* Sende, 158; *pres. part.* Sending, 181; *past part.* Sent, 360; Send, 174; Sende, 364 To send.

Sengil, 184; Syngil, 155. Single.

"This (account) . . . . is ful *sengil* to be bileued," *i. e.*, too unsupported by other testimony. 356.

Sentence. Meaning, sense, or substance of a passage. 30, 31, 322.

Sequence. A jubilant hymn, sung in the Mass, 201. *See* Prose; *also* Ducange, *s. v.* Sequentia, who cites from Alcuin,

"*Sequitur* jubilatio quem *sequentiam* vocant."

Sermonyng, *n. s.* Sermonizing, preaching. 88, 89. *See* Gloss. to Chaucer.

Sette, 461; Sett, 55; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Settith, 64; *pl.* Setten, 192; *pret.* Settid, 127, 530; Settide, 461; *pl.* Settiden, 531; *imper. sing.* Sette,

257 ; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* SETTE, 155, 169 ; *pres. part.* SETTING, 121 ; *past part.* SETTE, 153 ; SETT, 147 ; SET, 178 ; SEET, 3, 486. To set.

SEUERALTE. State of separation. 50.

SHONED, *past part.* Shunned. 227.

SIDE, 78 ; *pl.* SIDES, 515. A side. Peculiar usages :

(1) "Probabilite, a this *side* suerte," *i. e.*, short of certainty. 78.

(2) "In othere *sides*," *i. e.*, in other respects, or points of view. 515.

SIGNIFICAT, *n. s.* The thing signified by a sign. 163.

SIJK, 194; *pl.* SIKE, 201. Sick.

SIKIR, 8, 76, 91 ; SEKIR, 76 ; *comp.* SIKERER, 560 ; SIKIRER, 216. Safe ; generally joined with *sure* by Pecock :

"If y be *sikir* and suer." 76.

"The *sikerer* and surer good." 560.

SIKIRLI. Safely. 132 (joined with *sureli*).

SILF, *refl. pron.* Self. Not inflected by Pecock, who uses it in the following combinations :

My silf, 285.	It silf, 16.
Thi silf, 3.	Us silf, 164.
Him silf, 87.	Ȝou silf, 87.
Hir silf, 230.	Hem silf, 3, 50.

Peculiar usage :

"A book is maad by *him silf*," 561, *i.e.* separately, apart.

SILLE, *v. a.* 289; *pret. pl.* SEELDEN, 309 ; SELDEN, 309 ; SOOLDEN, 309 ; *imper. pl.* SILLE, 473; *pres. part.* SILLING, 468 ; *past part.* SOLDE, 493, 562. To sell.

SILLER. A seller. 469.

SINGE, 206 ; *3rd pers. sing.* SINGITH, 330 ; *pres. pl.* SINGEN, 205 ; *pret.* SONGE, 205 ; *pl.* SUNGEN, 205 ; *pres. part.* SINGING, 204 ; *past part.* SUNGUN, 199. To sing.

SIRE. Syriac. 438.

SISTREN, 63, 298 ; SISTRIS, 155, 298. Sisters.

SITHEN, 5 ; SYTHEN, 73. Since.

SITHIS, *pl.* Times. 15, 130, 172. *See* Coler. Gloss. Ind., *s. v.* SITHE.

SITTE, *v. n.*, 123; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* SITTITH, 300 ; *pret.* SATE, 300 ; SAAT, 196 ; *subj.* SITTE, 267 ; *pres. part.* SITTING, 123.

(1) To sit, *u. s.*

(2) To beseem, 333, where the MS. reading (in the note) is correct. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 367.

SKILE, 9 ; SKIL, 169 ; *pl.* SKILIS, 98. A reason.

SLE, 113 ; SLEE, 540 ; *pres. part.* SLEING, 527 ; SLEYING, 527 ; *past part.* SLEIN, 246 ; SLAYN, 157 ; SLAIN, 56. To slay.

SLYUE. A sleeve. 231.

SMAL, 442 ; *pl.* SMALE, 360, 400 ; *comp.* SMALER, 360. Small.

SMELLEABLE. Capable of being smelt. 162.

SMERT. Pert, smart. 5.

SMERTLI, *adv.* Quickly. 47, 194.

SMOTHE. Smooth. 525.

SMYTHIYNG, *pres. part.* Forging on an anvil. 256.

SOCORER. Succourer, helper. 244.

SOILE ; *pres. part.* SOILING, 255. To refute. *See* ASSOILE.

SOLEMPNE, 184 ; *sup.* SOLEMPNEST, 31. Solemn.

SOLEMPNELI. Solemnly. 445.

Sondis, *pl.* Presents sent. 376, 377. *See* Gloss. to Chaucer.

Soolnes. Soleness, solitariness. 235. *See* Chesterfield, cited in Richardson's Dict.

Soor, *adj.* Sore. 295.

Soper. Supper. 461.

Sotheli. Surely, of a surety. 53, 66, 76.

Souereyn, *adj.*, 244 ; *sup.* Soureynest, 244. Sovereign.

Soun, *n. s.* Sound. 187.

Sowdiers, *pl.* Soldiers. 516.

Sowe ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Sowith, 228 ; *pret. pl.* Sewen, 319 ; *pres. part.* Sowing, 228. To sow. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

Sowne, 437 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Sowneth, 27, 61 ; Sownith, 124; *pl.* Sownen, 288, 417 ; *subj.* Sowne, 312 ; *pres. part.* Sownyng, 71, 419.

(1) To sound, *i.e.* (1) *agree*, 61, 288 ; or (2) *disagree*, 71, as it is joined with *to* or *against*. Also absolutely, p. 419.

Special, *n. s.* A particular.

"A *special* and a parti." 512.

Specialte. Speciality, particularity. 130. (Opposed to *generalte*.)

Speculable. Theoretical, speculative. 134. (Epithet of *truths*.)

Spedi, 220 ; Spedy, 219 ; *comp.* Spedier, 219. Advantageous, ready. (Epith. of *image*, and *condition*.)

Spedith, *def. v.* It is profitable, *expedit*, 307; *past part.* Sped, Advanced, profited, 362. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

Speedful. Advantageous, ready.

"It is profitable and *speedful* . . . forto speke." 27.

"A good and a *speedful* wey." 111.

Speke, 202 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Spekith, 23 ; *pl.* Speken, 23 ; *pret. 3rd pers. sing.* Spak, 23, 202 ; Spake, 24, 226, 339 ; *pl.* Spaken, 206 ; *subj.* Speke, 267 ; *imper.* Speke, 226 ; *pres. part.* Speking, 1 ; *past part.* Spoken, 51; Spokun, 203, Spoke, 226. To speak.

Spende, 283 ; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Spendith ; *pl.* Spenden, 370 ; *past part.* Spend, 213 ; Spende, 87. To spend.

Spice, 194, 228; *pl.* Spicis, 17, 41. Species, kind.

Spille, *v. a.* and *n.* ; *pres. pl.* Spillen, 54; *past part.* Spilled, 307.

(1) To perish. 54.

(2) To destroy. 307. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible, and Coler. Gloss. Ind.

Sporier, 50 ; *pl.* Sporiers, 50. A spurrier.

Sporiorie. The art of the spurrier. 50.

Sporis, *pl.* Spurs. 50.

Sprede, 129 ; *past part.* Sprad, 213; Spred, 216. To spread.

Squyer, *n. s.* A square. 135.

Squyer, 371 ; *pl.* Squyeris, 396 ; Squyers, 370. A squire.

Stabili. Constantly. 548.

Stabiling, *n. s.* Establishing. 91.

Stable, *v. a.*; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* Stabilith, 461; *past part.* Stabilid, 432, 548. To establish.

STAPPIS, *pl.* Steps. 313.

STARYNG, *adj.* Gaudy; or rather, perhaps, impudent. 371.

STELE, 64, 344; STEELE, 146; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* STELIST, 64; *pret.* STALE, 155; *subj.* STELE, 343. To steal.

STERERS, *pl.* Exhorters. 324.

STERRE, 243; *pl.* STERRIS, 242. A star.

STIDE, *n. s.* Stead. 196.

STIE, *v. n.*; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* STIETH, 414; *pret.* STIED, 60; *pl.* STIEDEN, 259. To ascend (with or without *up*).

STIRE, 245; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* STIRETH, 177; *pl.* STIREN, 23; *pres. part.* STIRING, 263; *past part.* STIRID, 266. To stir up, exhort.

STOLIS, *pl.* Long robes. 473.

STONDE, *v. n.*, 246; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* STONDITH, 11; *pl.* STOONDEN, 394; STONDEN, 553; *pret.* STOOD, 11; STODE, 11; *pl.* STODEN, 286; *subj. pl.* STONDE, 184; *pres. part.* STONDING, 554. To stand.

Peculiar usages:

"*Stonding* al the good," *i.e.* all the good being allowed to stand or remain. 554.

"Forto *stonde* to deuocioun of the peple," *i.e.* depend on their contributions.

STOON, 187; *pl.* STOONYS, 198. A stone.

STOOR, *n. s.* Store. 303.

STORIE, 351; *pl.* STORIES, 61.

(1) A written history. 351.

(2) A historical event. 225, 365.

(3) A sculptured scene, "*sculptura storiata.*" 139.

STORIE, *v. n.*; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* STORIETH, 299, 351. To record.

STORIER. A historian. 350, 353.

STORIYNG, *n. s.* A relation; history. 354.

STRAWITH, *pres. 3rd pers.* Strews. 230.

STRECCHE, 49; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* STRECCHITH, 278; *pl.* STRECCHEN, 490; *pres. part.* STRECCHING, 324; *past part.* STRECCHID, 280; STREIȝT, 269, 270, 372. To stretch.

STRECCHING, *n. s.* Tendency. 431.

STRENGTHE, 282; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* STRENGTHITH, 67; *pres. part.* STRENGTHING, 561; *past part.* STRENGTHID, 165, 283. To strengthen.

STRENGTHING, *n. s.* Strengthening. 515.

STRONG, 14; *comp.* STRENGER, 77; *sup.* STRENGIST, 527. Strong.

STURNE. Stern, rough. 146. (Epithet of *weather.*)

SUBARBIS, *pl.* Suburbs, 280. (*Suburbis* also occurs, 279.)

SUBSTANCIAL. Solid. 68, 85. (Epithet of *clerks.*)

SUBSTANCIALI. Solidly. 85. (Joined with *learned.*)

SUE; *imper.* SUE, 294; *pres. part.* SUYNG, 321; SEWYNG, 491. To follow.

SUGET, 217; *pl.* SUGETIS, 218; SUGETTIS, 218; SUGGETTIS, 219. A subject; dependent. Used by Pecock both in a civil and ecclesiastical sense. 218, 315.

SUGET, *adj.* Subject. 443.

SUM, 302, 561; *pl.* SUMME, 185. Some.

Peculiar usages :

"In oon place, and not in an other, and bifore *summe* ymage and not bifore an other," *i.e.* particular images. 188.

"And so forth of manye othere staryng gouernauncis, semyng *summe* wijlde woode," *i.e.* some raging mad ones. 371.

See also p. 15.

In Pecock's MS. it often coalesces with its substantive ; as *summen*, &c.

SUTIL. Subtle. 198.

SUTILING, *n. s.* Subtlety. 195.

SUYNGLI, *adv.* In manner following. 321, 417.

SWEETE, 66 ; *comp.* SWETTER, 67 ; *sup.* SWETTIST, 67. Sweet.

SWERD. A sword. 71.

SWOPE, *n. s.* Soap. 127.

SYMYLACRIS, *pl.* Idols. 141, 146.

T.

TAKE, *v. a.* 3 ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* TAKIST, 68 ; *3rd pers.* TAKITH, 2; *pl.* TAKYN, 159; TAKEN, 3 ; *pret.* TOKE, 329; TOOK, 353; *2nd pers. sing.* TOOKIST, 62 ; *pl.* TOOKEN, 173 ; TOKEN, 35 ; TOKE, 30 ; *imper. sing.* and *pl.* TAKE, 3, 68 ; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* TAKE, 3, 149, 165 ; *pres. part.* TAKING, 28 ; *past part.* TAKE, 2, 186 ; TAKEN, 52 ; TAKUN, 278 ; TAK, 57.

(1) To take, (*u. s.*)

(2) To understand, 54, 58. Sometimes used by Pecock where the moderns would say *make*, though not exactly used for it, *e. g.*

"At whiche men mowe lawȝe and *take* bourde." 156.

TAKEABLE. Capable of being taken in, or comprehended. 11.

TALARIE. The art of the tailor. 49.

TELLE, 353 ; *pret.* TOOLD, 353 ; *pres. part.* TELLING, 118 ; *past part.* TOOLD, 122.

(1) To tell. 353.

(2) To count. 544.

TELLING, 557; TELLYNG, 557. *n. s.* Counting.

TEMPTATYUE. Tempting. 105.

TENTE, 218 ; TENT, 217, 478. Heed, attention.

TERME, 280 ; *pl.* TERMES, 146 ; TERMYS, 70 ; TEERMYS, 70. A limit.

THAN. Rather than. 307.

THANKE, 90; *pl.* THANKIS, 563. Thanks.

THANNE, 1, 55 ; THAN, 57. Then.

THAT, *pron.* 4 ; *pl.* THO, 1. That, those.

THENKE, *v. n.*, 165 ; more rarely THINKE, 99; *pret.* THOUȝTE, 244; *imp.* THENKE, 72 ; *subj.* THENKE, 166. To think.

THER (probably *pron. indet.* *See* Guest, in Philol. Trans., vol. i. p. 159). In composition = that. Sometimes coalescing with a preposition in the MS. of Pecock, but more often written as a distinct word ; *e. g. ther with*, 2 ; *ther yn*, 2 ; but also, *therbi*, 2 ; *therfore*, 3 ; and the same inconstancy prevails with respect to many other combinations.

THILK, *pron.* 10; very rarely THILKE, 197 (second hand); *pl.* THILKE, 96; more rarely THILK, 57.

(1) That, those.

"This miracle and *thilk* miracle." 293.

"Chese the reder of this place and of *thilk* place whether this or *thilk* or bothe be wole holde." 273.

(2) Perhaps used for *this* (a sense assigned to it by Percy in his Gloss. to the second volume of Reliq. Anct. Engl. Poetry), p. 235, where "*thilk hil*" seems to be the same as "*this hil*," p. 234.

THIS, 2; *pl.* THESE, 1; more rarely THES, 145, 432, 531. This, these.

THORUȝ, *prep.* Through. 7.

THOUSIND, 88; *pl.* THOUSINDIS, 540; *also* THOUSIND, 540. A thousand. (Thousand also occurs 216).

THRIDDE. Third. 8.

THRIFT. Profit. 44, 86, 129.

THRIFTI. Profitable. 160.

THRIFTILI. Profitably. 43, 100.

THRITTI. Thirty. 516.

TICE, 548; *pres. part.* TISING, 66. To entice.

TILE, 284, 527; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* TILIETH, 228; *pl.* TILIEN, 275. To till.

TILIER. A tiller, husbandman. 258.

TILING, *n. s.* Tilling. 288.

TIME.

"Into *tyme*"=until. 246.

TO, *adv.* and *prep.*

(1) Close to, next.

"Ligging *to* the same citees." 279.

(2) Into.

"To enter *to* lijf." 293.

(3) Of.

"*To* whiche the world was not worthi." 309.

(4) Before infinitives it converts them into nominatives.

"Pilgrimagis *to* be doon is not vnleeful." 180.

"It is not vnlecful pilgrimagis *to* be doon." 180.

See also pp. 147, 455.

To is joined with several verbs by Pecock, where it is now omitted; *e.g.*,

"Bileue thou *to* me." 234.
"Meeting *to* thee." 205.
"Obeie *to* her lordis." 454.
"Remembrid *to* the lay peple." 193.
"Serue *to* God," 90.

("Serue God" also occurs, 165).

Contrariwise, he omits *to* before certain infinitives, where it would be now used.

"Thilk gouernaunce is leeful and not worthi be blamed and be reproued." 456.
"ȝe suffren not him do." 466.
"Ouȝten be." 466.

(5) Used as prefix to the gerund. (*See* Guest in Phil. Trans. vol. 2, p. 245.)

"ȝeeris of hunger *to* coming," (from Wiclif's Bible,) explained by "next thanne comyng," 259,

where we should now say *to come*, an expression which Pecock himself uses. 344. *See also* p. 481.

TOGIDERE, 553, (where *to* is united to *gidere* in the MS. by an hyphen); much more usually TO GIDERE (divisim). 10, 20, 45, &c. Together.

TOLLE. To attract, allure. 523. *See* Coler. Gloss. Ind.

TOWARD.

"Weel *toward* al," *i.e.* nearly all. 20.

TRANSMIGRACIOUN. A passing over (of emigrants). 17.

TRE, 197; TREE, 237. Wood.

"Image of *tre*." 197.

TRETING, *n. s.*, 26; *pl.* TRETINGIS, 26. A mode of treatment.

TRIACLE. Antidote, remedy. 512. *See* Colcr. Gloss. Ind.

TRIBU. A tribe. 173.

TRONCHONS. Trunks or stocks of trees. 28.

TROTTE. To go (on pilgrimage). 194.

TROUBELOSE. Troublesome. 318.

TROUTHE, 71 ; *pl.* TROUTHIS, 74 ; TROUTHES, 12 ; also TREUTHE, 98 ; TREUTH, 71 ; *pl.* TREUTHIS, 74 ; TRUTHIS, 22. Truth.

TROWE, 187, 482 ; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* TROWIST, 150 ; *3rd pers.* TROWITH, 154 ; *pl.* TROWEN, 156 ; *pret. pl.* TROWIDEN, 154 ; *subj. sing.* TROWE, 154 ; *pl.* TROWEN, 157 ; *pres. part.* TROWING, 152 ; *past part.* TROWID, 174. To think, believe.

TROWING, 5 ; *pl.* TROWINGIS, 5. An opinion.

TRUAUNTIS, *pl.* Idlers. 219.

TURMENTID, *past part.* Tormented. 309.

TWEI, 477 ; TWEY, 8 ; TWEYNE, 15. Two.

TWEIES, 462 ; TWIES, 462. Twice.

TYRANNYS, *pl.* Tyrants. 250. (TIRANTIS occurs p. 296).

TYRANRIE, 302 ; TYRANRY, 426 ; TIRANRIE, 299 ; TIRANTRIE, 300. Tyranny.

V.

VARIAUNCE. Variableness, inconstancy. 176, 177.

VELYM, 25, 81 ; VELIM, 81. Vellum.

VERRIFIE, 53 ; *part. past* VERRIFIED, 96. To prove true.

"It . . . . serueth neither forto grounde, neither forto *verrifie* the seid firste opiniоun." 53.

VERTU, 6 ; *pl.* VERTUES, 166.
(1) Strength. 6, 479.
(2) Virtue, in the modern sense. 10.

VERTUOSENES. Virtue. 96.

VILONIE. Injury. 67, 68, 100.

VISITING, *n. s.*, 96 ; *pl.* VISITINGIS, 96. Favour, regard. *See* Richardson's Dict.

VNACCORDAUNCE. Inconsistency. 263.

VNACCORDING, *adj.* Inconsistent.

"*Vnaccording* to preestis." 239.

See also p. 537.

VNACCORDINGLI. Inconsistently. 207.

VNATTENDAUNCE. Want of attention. 470.

VNAVISIDNES. Heedlessness. 357, 505.

VNAȝENSEIABILY, 130 ; VNAȝENSEIABILI, 380. Incontrovertibly.

VNAȝENSTONDEABLI. Irresistibly. 533.

VNBODILI. Incorporeal. 134, 243, 246.

VNCHEREFUL. Cheerless. 244.

VNCONGRUITE. Incongruity. 255.

VNCONSIDERACIOUN. Inconsiderateness ; want of consideration. 89, 474, 512.

VNCONSTAUNCE. Inconstancy. 177.

VNCONTYNENT. Incontinent. 479.

VNCOUENABLE. Inconvenient ; unsuitable. 479.

VNCURTEIS. Uncourteous. 151.

VNCURTESIE. Want of courtesy. 151.

VNDECLARABLE. Ineffable. 245.

VNDEEDLI. Immortal. 243. *See* Prompt. Parv. p. 364.

VNDEINTEOSE. Not nice; unpleasant. 184.

VNDEPARTABILNES. Indissolubility. 15.

VNDIRNYME, *v. a.*, 2; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* VNDIRNYMEST, 3; *3rd pers.* VNDIRNYMETH, 2; *pl.* VNDIRNYMEN, 416, 476; VNDIRNEMEN, 562; *imper.* VNDIRNYME, 1, 3; *past part.* VNDIRNOME, 2, 97. To reprove; find fault with. *See* Waterland's Works, vol. x. p. 231, and Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

VNDIRNYMER, 3; *pl.* VNDIRNYMERS, 452; VNDIRNEMERS, 565. A reprover.

VNDIRNYMING, *n. s.*, 253; VNDIRNEMING, 453, 563; *pl.* VNDIRNYMINGIS, 3. Reproof.

VNDIRSTONDE, 6; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* VNDERSTONDITH, 61; *pl.* VNDIRSTONDEN, 57; VNDERSTONDE, 464; *pret.* VNDIRSTODE, 55, 137, 486; *pl.* VNDERSTODEN, 68; *subj.* VNDIRSTONDE, 134; *imper. pl.* VNDIRSTONDE, 464; *pres. part.* VNDIRSTONDING, 380; *past part.* VNDIRSTONDE, 8, 10, 26; VNDIRSTONDEN, 274; VNDIRSTONDUN, 116. To understand.

VNDIRSTONDING, *n. s.*, 54; *pl.* VNDIRSTONDINGIS, 53. Understanding.

VNDISCRETE, *pl.*, 3, 198. Indiscreet.

VNDISPOSICIOUN. Indisposition. 308.

VNDISPOSID, *past part.* Indisposed. 308. (*Indisposid* occurs in the same place.)

VNDO, *past part.* Undone. 291. *See* DO.

VNDOUTABLI. Undoubtedly. 26.

VNDRERS, *pl.* Inferiors; opposed to *Ouerers*. 393.

VNEXPEDIENT. Inexpedient. 163.

VNFAIR. Foul, ugly. 548.

VNFORMAL. Informal. 9.

VNFULLY. Defectively. 564.

VNGERD, *past. part.* Ungirded. 135.

VNGROUNDABILI. Groundlessly. 104.

VNGROUNDID, *past part.* Ill-grounded; shallow (blamer). 3. *See* GROUNDLI.

VNHAD, *past part.* Not had. 212.

VNHANGINGLI. Unconnectedly. 441.

VNHAUYNG, *n. s.* Want of having.

"The *vnhauyng* and the vnknowing of this now seid consideracioun." 89.

VNHELPIS, *pl.* Hindrances. 108.

VNHONESTLI. Dishonestly. 325.

VNHOOLSUMNES. Unwholesomeness. 68.

VNIUERSITE, 243; VNYUERSITE, 243. The universe ("of thingis"),

"*Universitas rerum.*" Cic.

VNIUSTNES. Injustice. 106.

VNKNOWE, 55; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* VNKNOWITH, 53; *past part.* VNKNOWUN, 53; VNKNOWEN, 55; VNKNOWE, 360. To be ignorant of; not to know.

VNKNOWING, *n. s.* Ignorance, 89, 474.

VNKUNNYNG, *n. s.* Ignorance. 156.

VNKUNNYNG, *adj.* (properly *pres. part.*) Ignorant. 51, 327.

VNLACKEABLE. Indispensable. 44, 91.

VNLACKEABLI. Indispensably. 35.

VNLEEFUL. Unlawful. 136.

VNLEEFULNES. Unlawfulness. 136.

VNLIKELI, *adv.* Improbably. 361.

VNMAAD, *past part.* Uncreated; eternal. 242.

VNMEDLID, *past part.* Unmixed. 49, 50.

VNMEKE. Proud. 96.

VNMOUEABLE, 49; VNMOUABLE, 275; VNMOVABLE, 377. Immoveable, fixt (possessions). Pecock has also *immouable*, 277.

VNMYLDE. Cruel. 479.

VNNETHIS. Scarcely. 88.

VNOBEDIENT. Disobedient. 479.

VNPERFIT, 560; *comp.* VNPERFITER 193. Imperfect. Pecock has also *imperfiter*, 349.

VNPERFITLI. Imperfectly. 564.

VNPERFITNES. Imperfection. 349.

VNPERSEUERANCE. Want of perseverance, fickleness. 177.

VNPERTEYNING. Not appertaining. 552.

VNPERTYNENTLY. Impertinently. 441. (*Inpertinentli* also occurs, 442.)

VNPITEE. Cruelty. 324.

VNPITEFUL. Ungodly. 516. *See* Waterland's Works, vol. x. pp. 273, 274.

VNPOSSESSID, *past part.* 386; VNPOSSESSYD. 380. Put out of possession, dispossessed.

VNPROPIRLI. Improperly.

"Takun *vnpropirli* and largeli and not propirly." 72.

Pecock apparently distinguishes *vnpropirli* from *not propirly*, as being the direct contrary of *properly;* but this distinction cannot be applied to such forms as *vnhad*, which is a mere negative.

VNPROPRE, 27; VNPROPIR, 27. Improper.

VNPROUE, 104; *pres. pl.* VNPROUEN, 104; *past part.* VNPROUED, 380. To disprove. *See* IMPROUE.

VNPROUYNG, *n. s.* Disproof. 430.

VNQUYK, 193; *pl.* VNQUYKE, 193. Lifeless (images).

VNREDILI. Inconsiderately. 274.

VNREDY. Ill-prepared, inconsiderate. 3.

VNREMEMBRAUNCE. Forgetfulness.

"The vnconsideracioun and the vnknowing and the *vnremembraunce* of these thre . . . . notabilitees." 474.

VNRESTFULNES. Disquiet. 537.

VNREUERENTLI. Irreverently. 563.

VNRIȝT, *n. s.*? Wrong. 498.

VNRIȝT, *adj.* Wrong, or rather not right.

"*Vnriȝt* and wrong." 415.

VNRIȝTID, *past part.* Put out of one's right. 386.

VNROOTE, 8; *past part.* VNROOTID, 51. To eradicate.

VNROOTING, *n. s.* A rooting out. 8.

VNSAUORI, 89; *comp.* VNSAUERIER, 89. Insipid.

VNSAUORILI. Insipidly. 564.

VNSCAPABILI. Inevitably. 308, 516.

VNSCAPEABLE. Inevitable. 514.

VNSKILFULLI. Illogically. 49. *See* SKILE.

VNSOILABILI. Unanswerably. 181.

VNSOILABLE, 162; VNSOILEABLE, 539. Unanswerable, incapable of refutation.

VNSPARABLE. Indispensable. 529.

VNSPEDI, *comp.* VNSPEDIER, 89. Unprofitable.

VNSTABILNES. Instability. 505.

VNTO, *adv.* Until.

"*Vnto* thilk eeldir storiyng be found. 357.

See INTO.

VNTROUTHE, 234; *pl.* VNTREUTHIS, 396. Untruth.

VNVERTUOSE. Vicious. 324.

VNWEMMED, *past part.* Undefiled. 477.

VNWISDOM. Senselessness. 150, 479. (The word seems to express more than the mere absence of wisdom, namely, also the presence of folly. *See* VNPROPIRLI.)

VNWORSCHIPE, *v. a.* 506; *pres. 2nd pers. sing.* VNWORSCHIPIST, 64. To dishonour.

VNWRONGINGIS, *pl.* Redressing of wrongs. 382.

VOIDNESSIS, *pl.* Empty conceits. 249. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

VOLUNTARIE. Arbitrary. Explanation of *positive*, as an epithet of *law*. 18.

VOLUNTE. Arbitrary determination. 210. Cf. Juv. Sat. vi.

"Stet pro ratione *voluntas*."

UPBREIDING. *pres. part.* Reproving. 247.

VPBREIDINGIS, *pl.* Reproofs. 247.

VPBREIDIS, *pl.* Reproofs. 247.

UPDRAWE. To draw up. 8.

UPON, 193; VPON, 96.

"Remembrid *upon* tho thingis," *i.e.* reminded of. 193.

"Aske . . . resoun *vpon* his feith," *i.e.* of. 96.

UPPLUCKID, *past part.* Plucked up. 51.

VPSETTING, *n. s.* The setting up. 156. (Exactly contrary to its modern sense.)

VYNER. Vineyard. 389.

W.

WAARNES. Caution. 92.

WAARNYNG, *n. s.*, 89; WARNYNG, 89. Notification.

"No mensioun and *waarnyng* of this consideracioun." 89.

WAAST.

"In *waast*." *i.e.* in vain. 21.

WAGID, *past. part.* Paid. 193.

WAIOUR, *n. s.* A wager. 54.

WAISCHE, 468; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WEISCHITH, 230; *pl.* WAISCHEN, 464; *pret.* WAISCHID, 468; *past part.* WAISCHEN. 464; WAYSCHEN, 465. To wash.

WAITE, *v. n.*, 135; *pres. part.* WAITING, 405. To attend.

Curiously coupled with *after* by Pecock:

"That we *waite* not aftir to be hoosilid," *i.e.* that we do not care, pay any attention, about receiving the sacrament, apparently. 135.

"He may not *waite* aftir," *i.e.* care, trouble himself. 489, *q. v.*

"*Wa'ting* weel to ech word," *i.e.* attending. 405.

See OUERWAITE.

WAKE, *v. a.* and *n.*; *pres. pl.* WAKEN, 91, 504; *pret.* WOKE, 224. To watch; keep oneself awake by study.

"Among hem that in scolis *waken*, studien, and disputen." 91.

See Gloss. Wiclif's Bible.

WALLEN, *v. n.*, *pres. pl.* To spring up; well up. 432. *See* Coler. Gloss. Ind., *s. v.* WELL.

WARDIS, *pl.* Guards (used metaphorically). 517.

WARNE, *v. a.* To notify, advise, warn. 85. (Not the same verb as *to weerne, q. v.* *See also* Coler. Gloss. Ind.)

WAS, *v. aux.*, supplying the *past* tense of *to be; indic.* 1*st* and 3*rd pers. sing.* WAS, 173, 205; 2*nd pers.* WERE, 200, 262; *pl.* WEREN, 174; WERE, 174, 205 (*see* note); *subj. sing.* 1*st* and 3*rd pers. sing.* WERE, 182, 166; *pl.* WERE, or WEREN, 1 (*see* note), 7, 25, 151.

WAWIS, *pl.* Waves. 480.

WEDRIS, *pl.* Weathers. 146.

WEEL, 1; WELE (very rarely, and in both cases by a later hand), 164, 188.

(1) Well.

(2) Added as an augmentative to various words, as *weelnyȝ*, 7; *weel toward*, 20, &c.

WEELDE. To have power over; possess. 276. (Quoted from Wiclif's Bible.)

WEELWILLING. Consent. 440.

WEEN, 166; *pl.* WEENEN, 6; WENEN, 6; *pret. pl.* WEENEDEN, 141; *pres. part.* WEENYNG, 69. To think.

WEERE, 122; WERE, 125; *pres. pl.* WEREN, 505; *pret. pl.* WERIDEN, 124; *subj.* WERE, 284; *pres. part.* WERYNG, 347; *past part.* WORN, 543; WORNE, 347. To wear.

WEERNABLE. Worthy to be forbidden, 470.

WEERNYNG, *n. s.*, 380; WERNYNG, 380; *pl.* WEERNYNGIS, 506. A prohibition, warning.

WEERNE, *v. a.*, 146; WERNE, 517; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WEERNETH, 145; WERNETH, 161; *pres. part.* WEERNYNG, 325; *past part.* WEERNED, 471; WERNED, 471. To forbid; warn against.

"Forto *weerne* ymagis of God to be had." 146.

"Noon sufficient ground of feith reproueth and *weerneth* hem (images)." 147.

WELLID, *past part.* Welded. 141, 173.

WEIE, 113; WEY, 337; *pl.* WEIES, 348. A way.

WEIE, *v. a.* To weigh.

"To ouer *weie* and apprise a seiyng," *i.e.* ascribe too much weight to it. 335.

WEMMID, *past. part.* Defiled. 174.

WEPEABLE. Deplorable. 86.

WERK, 229; *pl.* WERKIS, 229. A work.

WERRE, *n. s.*, War. 537.

WEX, *n. s.* Wax. 197.

WEXE, *v. n., pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WEXITH, 481; *pret.* WEXE, 342; WEXID, 322; *pl.* WAXIDEN (sic), 243. To wax.

WEXING, *n. s.* Waxing. 339.

WHANNE. When. 17. Joined with *euer*, &c., but not coalescing into the same word with it.

"*Whanne* euer." 2.

WHAT (used as *adv. interr.*) Why? 162, 293, and so probably, where the note is questionable, p. 64. Both these instances are from Wiclif's Bible, and are perhaps only to be regarded as bald renderings of the classical idiom.

WHER, (probably *pron. indet.*) In composition equivalent to *which;* as in *wherof, wherfore,* &c., the

parts of which are written both conjunctim and disjunctim in the MS. of Pecock. *See* THER.

Wherfore is occasionally used where the logical sequence of the clauses requires *therfore; see* especially p. 496, also p. 356. Similarly Maundevile, in the rambling and disjointed prologue to his *Travels*, makes *wherfore* the apodosis of *for als moche*, pp. 1–3. Ed. Lond. 1839, where see note. Conversely Chaucer has *ther* for *where*. *See* Glossary.

WHERE, *adv.*, 68; but also *n. s.*, 25; *pl.* WHERIS, 27.

(1) *Adv.* Where, as in modern English,—

"Ellis *where*." 27.
"Whanne and *where*." 68.
"Whanne euere and *where* euere." 25.

Connected with the relative. Cf. *quò, quā,* ᵹ.

(2) *n. s.* A place (by conversion of the adverb into the substantive, as τὸ πῶς, &c., in Greek).

"In othere *wheris*." 27.
"In other *wheris*." 68.

WHERFRO, *adv.* Oút of which. 467.

WHICH EUER, WHAT EUER. Any whatever.

"To lete hem not come into *what euer* examynacioun." 99.
"He allowith *which euer* of thilke weies to be take." 112.

WHIDIR. Whither. 353.

WHILE, *n. s.*, 506; *pl.* WHILIS, 273. A time.

"For oon *while* . . . for an other *while*." 506.
"At certein *whilis*." 273.
"For his *while*," *i.e.* his time of office. 386.

See Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

WHILIS, *adv.* Whilst. 431.

WICCHE. Witch. 563.

WIJS, 302; WIJSE, 302; *pl.* WISE, 7; but also WIJSE, 420, and WIJS, 3; *sup.* WISIST, 241. Wise.

WIJTE; *pres. pl.* WIJTEN, 5, 136; *pres. part.* WIJTYNG, 155. To blame.

WIJTE, *n. s.*, 386; WIJT, 514, 515.

(1) Blame. 386.
(2) Fault? 514, 515.

WIJTERS, *pl.* Blamers. 143, 191.

WIJTING, *n. s.* Blaming. 4, 155.

WILFUL. Positive (law). 18.

WILLI, 6; *comp.* WILLIER, 496. Willing.

WILLE, *infin.*, 422? (where it may be a subjunctive), 304; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WILLITH, 111; WOLE, 113, 114; *pl.* WILLEN, 467; *pret.* WILLID, 434; WILLED, 473; *pl.* WILLIDEN, 447; *pres. subj.* WOLE, 113, 114; *pl.* WOLEN, 214; *pret. subj.* or *opt.* WOLDE (God), 143; *pres. part.* WILLING, 315; *past part.* WILLID, 112. To will, desire. *See* WOLE and WOLDE, which are usually considered to belong to the verb, when used as auxiliaries; also NILE. For a somewhat different classification, *see* Coler. Gloss. Ind.

WILNE, 295, 348; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WILNETH, 467; *past part.* WILNED, 196. To wish, desire.

WILNYNGIS, *pl.* Intentions, 533.

WIRCHE, *v. a.* and *n.*, 222; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WIRCHITH, 223; WORCHITH, 223; *pret.* WROUȝT, 334; *pl.* WROUȝTEN, 334, 342; *subj.* WIRCHE, 224; *pl.* WORCHE,

97 ; *pres. part.* WIRCHING, 258 ; *past part.* WROUȝT, 162, 229. To work.

WIRCHER. A worker. 224.

WIRCHING, *n. s.*, 224 ; WORCHING, 257 ; *pl.* WORCHINGIS, 242. A working.

WISE, 154 ; *pl.* WISIS, 430 ; WIJSIS, 548. A fashion, manner.

"In ij. *wisis*." 430

"Bi manye *wijsis*." 548.

WITE, *v. a. infin.*, 186, 223 ; *pres.* 1*st pers. sing.* WOTE, 88, 136 ; WOOT, 26, 78 ; 3*rd pers. sing.* WOTE, 144 ; WOOT, 103 ; *pl.* WITEN, 24, 140 ; *pret.* WIST, 222 ; WISTE, 346 ; *pl.* WISTEN, 240 ; *imper. sing.* and *pl.* WITE, 51, 479 ; *pres. part.* WITING, 69 ; *past part.* WISTE, 67 ; WIST, 227. To know.

Peculiar usage :

"It is to *wite*," *i. e.* it is to be observed, the reader must know. 223.

"Doing to *wite*," *i. e.* explaining. 1.

WITHINFORTH, 42 ; WITHINNEFORTH, 150, 214. Inwardly.

WITHOUT FORTH. Outwardly. 25, 150, 214.

WITINGLI. Knowingly. 399.

WITNESSER, 26 ; *pl.* WITNESSERS, 448. A witness.

WITT, *n. s.*

(1) Sense, knowledge.

"Philsophiris bi her studie in natural *witt* (science, objectively) . . . grauntiden alle hem to be doon, and that . . . . thei so grauntiden bi her naturall *witt* (sense, subjectively) it is to be holde." 14.

(2) Inmost thoughts. 295.

WITTI. Possessing any wit or common sense. 25.

WLAPPE, 306 ; *pres.* 3*rd pers. sing.* WLAPPITH, 306. To wrap, lap. *See* Gloss. to Wiclif's Bible, which is here referred to, and Prompt. Parv. p. 287.

WLATE, *pres.* 2*nd pers. sing.* WLATIST, 64. To loathe. Quoted from Wiclif's Bible : *see* the Gloss. to that work.

WOLDE, *v. aux.* ; (prop. *pret.* of *to wille*, *q. v.*) ; 1*st* and 3*rd pers. sing.* WOLDE, 122, 174 ; 2*nd pers.* WOLDIST, 123 ; *pl.* WOLDEN, 8, 87 ; WOLDE, 245. Would.

WOLE, *v. aux.* ; (prop. *pres.* of *to wilne*, *q. v.*) ; 1*st* and 3*rd pers. sing.* WOLE, 167, 172 ; 2*nd pers.* WOLT, 172 ; WOLTE, 175 ; *pl.* WOLEN, 171 ; WOLLEN (more rarely), 123. Will.

Elliptic usage :

"Noman can telle . . . whens it came or whidir it *wole*," *i. e.* will go. 353.

Cf. Shakspeare, As you like it.

"Wit, whither *wilt* ?"

(Act iv., Sc. 1) ; and *see* Guest, in Philolog. Trans., vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.

WOMMAN, 118 ; *gen.* WOMMANNIS, 119 ; WOMMANIS, 121 ; WOMMANNYS, 123 ; *pl.* WOMMEN, 118 ; *gen.* WOMMENNYS, 118. A woman.

WONE, *v. a.* To accustom.

"Forto sette thee and *wone* thee not to loue money." 559.

WONED, *adj.* Wont. 26, 71. (This form of the word, as well as the forms *iwune*, *ywoned*, for which *see* Coler. Gloss. Index, shows it to be originally a *past part.* of the preceding rare verb.)

WOOD, *adj.*, 141, 480 (the latter instance from Wiclif's Bible); *pl.* WOODE, 371. Wild, mad.

WORLDLIHODE. Worldliness; state of living in the world. 319, 476.

WORSCHIPE, 376; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WORSCHIPITH, 465; *pl.* WORSCHIPEN, 465; *pret. pl.* WORSCHIPIDEN, 240; *imp.* WORSCHIPE, 510; *subj.* WORSCHIPE, 154; WORSCHIP, 154; *pl.* WORSCHIPEN, 159; *pres. part.* WORSCHIPING, 47; *past part.* WORSCHIPID, 464. To worship (God, men, images, &c., in various degrees).

"*Worschipe*, that is to seie, finde and nurische, tho wommen." 376.

WORSE. Worst. 286. (Perhaps by a clerical error).

WORTH, *n. s.* Value.

"To be in eny *worth* servaunts to God," *i.e.*, in any good degree, in anything worth speaking about. 46.

See also p. 325.

WORTH, *adj.* Worthy, worth talking of.

"He maie neuere in eny thing *worth* be aboute to reproue . . . . tho religions. 535.

The fuller phrase occurs, p. 285:

"Her of folewith not neither colour is *worth* forto seie."

See also p. 136, 428.

WORTHE, *v. n.; past part.* Become.

"What schulde haue *worthe* of the men." 516.

See Coler. Gloss. Index.

WRASTLE. To wrestle. 214.

WRINGE, *v. a.* To pinch. 347.

WRITE, 255; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WRITITH, 446; *pl.* WRITUN, 410; *pret.* WROTE, 55, 61; WROOT, 55, 62; *pl.* WROTEN, 57, 61; *subj.* WRITE, 166; *pres. part.* WRITING, 4; *past part.* WRITEN, 55, 61; WRITUN, 55, 60; WRITE, 250, 1 (*see* note). To write.

WRITHEN, *past part.* of WRITHE. Twisted, plaited (hair). 124.

WRONGEE, *v. a.* To wrong. 70.

WRONGERS, *pl.* Doers of wrong. 549.

WROOTH, *adj.* (properly *past part.* of WRATHE). Wroth. 92. (The substantive is WRATHTHE. 329.)

WYNCING, *n. s.* Spurning ("in witt"). 129.

WYNCY, *v. n.* 254. To kick, plunge; hence to oppose oneself to a thing. *See* Richardson's Dict., *s. v.* WINCE.

WYNNE, 507; *pres. 3rd pers. sing.* WYNNETH, 521; *subj.* WYNNE, 507; *pres. part.* WYNNING, 403; *past part.* WUNNE, 409; WONNE, 412. To gain.

WYNTER, 108; *pl.* WYNTRIS, 128; WYNTERIS, 151; also WYNTIR, 174.

(1) Winter, as opposed to summer. 108.

(2) A year. 128, 174.

"Men seien that thei han lyued xl. *wynteris*, ꝺeenyng therbi that thei han lyued fourti ȝeeris." 151.

WYNNYNG, *n. s.*, 165, 303, 345; *pl.* WYNNINGIS, 391. Lucre.

Y.[1]

YDOLATRER, 153; *pl.* YDOLATRERS, 153; YDOLATRER IS, 149. An idolater.

---

[1] Y, as a participial prefix, is often written as a word by itself in the MS. of Pecock, though not in the edited text.

YMPNE. A hymn. 199.

YNOW, or Y NOW, 2; YNOWȝ, 117, 295. Enough.

YUEL, *n. s.*, 3; *pl.* YUELIS, 2. Evil.

YUEL, *adj.*, also *adv.*, 48, 335; *pl.* YUELE, 4. Evil.

YȝE, *adv.* High. AN YȝE. On high, 139 (more usually written *hiȝe*, as 138).

YȝEN, *n. s. pl.* Eyes. 186. *See* IȝE.

Z.

ZEEL, 2; ZELE, 71 (so written by the first hand in each case). Zeal. (*See* BOONYS).

ȝ.

ȝ, as a letter occurring in the middle or end of a word, is generally replaced by *gh* in the modern language; *e.g.* in LAUȝE, 120; HIȝER, 1; THOUȝ, 1; but is occasionally combined with a *w*, which either = *u*, or is redundant, as in LAWȝE, 156; LAUȝWE, 120; YNOWȝ, 117; or is now left unsupplied, as in SLIȝLI, 194. Conversely the modern *gh* is occasionally omitted without an equivalent, as in THOU (*i.e. though*), 195. Sometimes, however, the ȝ in the middle of a word is replaced by something else than *gh*, as in FORȝEUENES, 266; FORȝEUYNG, 266; AȝENS, 280; IȝEN, 270.

The words which commence with this letter are enumerated in the following list, none being intentionally omitted, where it will be observed that it is variously rendered in the modern forms. It deserves notice that in Pecock's time the use of this letter had begun to decline; thus *ȝif* or *ȝyf*, which is common from Robert of Gloucester down to Wiclif, is replaced by *if*, and a good many more instances may be supplied from a comparison of Dr. Todd's Glossary to the Apology for the Lollards, ascribed to Wiclif, with Pecock's language. Thus ȝED (heed), ȝEKUN (eke), ȝELE (health), ȝELD (gold), ȝEND (end), ȝERE (hear), ȝERE (ear), ȝERTHE (earth), ȝET (heat), ȝETE (*pret.* of eat), ȝETHUN (heathen), are words which occur in Pecock, but are written without the ȝ. At the same time it must be added, that a few words, into which this letter enters, are found in some later authors, where Pecock omits it. Thus in the Metrical Chronicles of Scotland we have ȝET, *pl.* ȝETTIS (a gate), where Pecock had already written *g* for ȝ, though retaining the archaism in his quotation from Wiclif. *See* the Glossary.

See p. 2, note. The last vestiges only of this formation of the past participle, so common even in Wiclif's Bible, survive in Pecock's language, *yclepid* and *yȝutte* being perhaps the only words so augmented in The Repressor; a few others (*ycallid, ymade,*) occur in The Donet.

The *z* is represented in this MS. at least by a character very different to the ȝ.

ȝATE, 224; *pl.* ȝATIS, 440. A gate. (Also written GATE, GATIS, 441, 550; the former is Wiclif's form, the latter Pecock's.)

ȝE (*nearly always nom., but oblique* 86), *pers. pron.*, 6; ȝOU (*always oblique*), 6; *pl.* of THOU, THEE, or THE. 1, 3, 15, 271.

ȝEDE, 225. *See* GO.

ȝEER, 258; *pl.* ȝEERIS, 3; also ȝEER, 56, 198. A year.

"Bi almost thritti ȝ*eer*." 56.

ȝEERLI, *adj.* Yearly. 216, 263.

ȝEERLY, *adv.* Yearly. 391.

ȝELDE, 140; *pres.* 3*rd pers. sing.* ȝELDITH, 63; *imper. pl.* ȝELDE, 140, 315; ȝEELDE, 389. To yield.

ȝERDE. A rod.

"To come to hem in ȝ*erde*, that is to seie in peyne" (punishment). 424.

See Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

ȝERDIS, *pl.* Yards. VYNE ȝERDIS. Vineyards. 527.

ȝEUE, 5; ȝIUE (very rarely), 168; *pres.* 3*rd pers. sing.* ȝEUETH, 1; ȝEUYTH, 264; ȝEUITH, 264 (*see* note); *pl.* ȝEUEN, 3; ȝEUE; *pret.* ȝAUE, 211; ȝAF, 276, 332; 2*nd pers.* ȝAUEST, 520; *pl.* ȝAUEN, 281; ȝAUE, 287; ȝAUUN, 459; *subj. sing.* and *pl.* ȝEUE, 264, 265; *imper. sing.* and *pl.* ȝEUE, 262, 16; *pres. part.* ȝEUYNG, 398; ȝEUING, 265; *past part.* ȝOUEN, 23; ȝOUUN, 68; ȝOUE, 74; ȝEUEN, 64; ȝEUUN, 98; ȝEUE, 98.

(1) To give, (*u. s.*)

(2) To give proof. 306, 542.

ȝEUER; 143; *pl.* ȝEUERS, 553. A giver.

ȝEUYNG, *n. s.*, 265; *pl.* ȝEUYNGIS, 400. A giving.

ȝHE. Yea. 31.

ȝHIS. Yes. 521.

ȝIFTE, 403; ȝIFT, 403; *pl.* ȝIFTIS, 181. A gift.

ȝIT.

(1) Yet. 1.

(2) Moreover, also.

"To hate . . . his britheren and sistren and ȝ*it* his owne lijf." 298.

ȝOK. A yoke. 420.

ȝOMAN. A yeoman. 371.

ȝONDIR, *adv.* Yonder. 151. *See* BIȝENDE.

ȝONG, 226; *pl.* ȝONGE, 431; ȝONG, 64; *comp.* ȝONGER, 302. Young.

ȝONGTHE. Youth. 192.

ȝOURE, *sing.* and *pl.*, 87, 198, 423. Your.

ȝUT, 163, 164; YȝUTTE, 138; (*past part.* of ȝUTE or ȝETE.) To melt metal. *See* Gloss. Wicl. Bible.

ȝUTTING, *n. s.* The melting or casting of metal. 138.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

Adrian I., upholds images, 254.
Aetians, their tenets, 499.
Ambrose, St., quoted, 170, 355.
a chief ornament to the church, 335, 337.
Ancona, marche of, given to the church of Rome by Matilda of Tuscany, 359.
Anthropomorphites, their tenets, 498.
Antidicomaritæ, their tenets, 499.
Apollinarians, their tenets, 499.
Apostolici, their tenets, 498.
Arabians, their tenets, 500.
Arians, their tenets, 499.
Aristotle, referred to, under the title of the Philosopher, 27, 308.
Arthur, king, a subject of painting and tapestry, 150.
Athenians, worshipped Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and the Unknown God, 146.
Augustine, St., quoted or alluded to, 178, 240, 328–330, 376, 501.
a chief ornament of the church, 335, 337.

B.

Bartholomew, St., legend of, 194, 227.
Basilidians, their tenets, 497.
Bernard, St., quoted, 409.
worked miracles, 156.
present at the council of Treves, 483.
Bible, English version, alluded to, 119.
Bohemian troubles, in the time of Huss and his followers, 86, 87.
Boniface IV., receives the Pantheon from Phocas, and converts it into a church, 362.
Bonosianians, their tenets, 500.
Byzantium, converted into the seat of empire by Constantine, as a new Rome, and called after him, 366.

C.

Carpocratians, their tenets, 497.
Cassiodorus, his Tripartite History quoted or referred to, 352, 353, 354, 355, 361, 365, 376.
Cataphrygians, their tenets, 498.
Cathari, their tenets, 498.
Catharine, St., her college in London, 215.
her festival observed there, 215.
a lamp hung before her image, 258.
Cecilia, St., a disciple of Urban I., 357.
Cephas, signifies *Head* according to Pecock, 434, who misquotes Jerome for proof of such a signification, 437.
Cerdonians, their tenets, 498.
Cerinthians, their tenets, 497.
Charlemagne, largely endowed the church of Rome, 359, 363.
in his time the popes became lords of Rome, 363; before that time the Greek emperors possessed it, 363.
Clocks, a recent invention, 118.
Constantine the Great, fabled to have endowed the church of Rome, 323.
fabled to have been baptized by pope Silvester, 323.

Constantine—*cont.*
endowed only one church in Rome, called after himself, 358.
was really baptized in Nicomedia by Eusebius, bishop of that place, and not by pope Silvester at Rome, 352, 353.
his edict referred to, 354.
his epistle referred to, 354.
that epistle spurious, 354.
originally intended to have translated his empire to Troy, 365.
falsely affirmed in his spurious epistle to have declared his intention to translate his empire to Byzantium shortly after his baptism, 365.
was warned in a dream to transfer his empire to Byzantium, 366.
persecution of the church diminished after his time, 336.
Constantine the younger, Constantius, and Constans, inherit the empire of Constantine the Great, 361, 362.
Constantine Copronymus, opposes images, 254.
Constantinople, the new name of Byzantium, 366.

D.

Damasus, quoted or referred to, 353, 360, 364.
Decreta Summorum Pontificum, referred to, 354, 357.
Decretals, quoted, 407, 408.
Diocletian, many martyrs in his reign, 336.
Dionysius the Areopagite, quoted or referred to, 61, 170, 225, 418, 425, 446, 459, 460, 532.
Doctormongers, a party among the Lollards, 87.
Domitian, St. John in exile at Patmos in the last year of his reign, 56.
many martyrs in his reign, 336.
Donatists, their tenets, 500.

E.

Eastern church, from the Apostles' time till now, allows the marriage of the clergy, 375.
Ebionites, their tenets, 499.
Ecclesiasticus, or Wisdom of Sirach, not canonical, 251.
Eleutherius, pope, the church of England endowed in his time, 358.
England, continually decreasing in population, in Pecock's opinion, 306.
Epiphanius, St., referred to, 501.
Eugenius III., approves the prophecies of St. Hildegard, 483.
Eunomians, their tenets, 499.
Eusebius of Cæsarea, quoted or referred to, 352, 353, 355.
Eutychians, their tenets, 500.

F.

France, continually decreasing in population, in Pecock's opinion, 306.
struggles of Henry VI. to conquer, 90.
at war with England for more than thirty years, 516, 517.
Franciscan friars, not allowed to touch money, 543.
but count it with a stick, 544, 555, 560.

G.

Games and sports:—shooting, 120.
merels, 120.
quoits, 120.
jowsting, 256.
mummings in disguise, 371.
Gascony, the occasional residence of the king of England, 21. (Although this is only put hypothetically, there is little doubt that something historical underlies the hypothesis. Some Anglo-Gallic coins of Edward the Third are struck at Bourdeaux, the birth-place of Richard the Second, anciently included in Gascony. *See* Ainslie's Anglo-Gallic Coinage, pp. 6, 8.)

Gelasius, pope, quoted, 365.
Gerizim, the seat of Samaritan worship, 96, 234.
Germany, empire of, dates from Charlemagne, 363.
Giraldus Cambrensis, the original authority for the story of the angel's cry in the air, when Constantine endowed the church of Rome, 351. (See *Addenda.*)
this story proved to be false, 350–365.
Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, when written, 61.
Gratian, his "Summe" referred to, 354, 359, 364, 365, 407, 408.
Gravesend, bishop of London, and chancellor of England, his commemoration in St. Paul's cathedral, 215.
Gregory I., a chief ornament of the church, 335, 337.
Gregory II., maintains images, 254.

H.

Harfleur, siege of, alluded to, as a subject of art, 258.
Hector of Troy, a subject of painting and tapestry, 150, 258.
Helvidians, their tenets, 500.
Henricus Gandavensis, quoted and refuted, 411.
Henry V., his siege of Harfleur, alluded to, 258.
Henry VI., his wars in France and Normandy, 90, 516, 517.
encouraged by Pecock to suppress the Lollards, 90.
Hermes Trismegistus, quoted, 240, 241.
Herod Antipas, his sovereignty dependent on the emperor of Rome, 315.
Hieracitæ, their tenets, 494 (called *Eraclitis* in text, but *see* note), 498.
Hilary, St., quoted, 72.
a chief ornament of the church, 335.
Hildegard, St., her prophecies against the religious orders, 483, 484.
these are of no great authority, though approved by a pope and a general council, 495.

I.

Isidore of Seville, St., referred to, 501.

J.

Jerome, St., quoted or referred to, 57, 126, 251, 322, 352, 354, 355, 360, 437 (quotation false), 447.
a chief ornament of the church, 335, 337.
his opinions not infallible; and his opinion that the church became more corrupt as it became richer, refuted, 334–337.
Jesus, the son of Sirach, his book of Ecclesiasticus not canonical, 251.
Johannes Januensis, his Catholicon referred to, 33.
John, St., date of his book of Revelation, 56.
Jovinianists, their tenets, 500.
Julius Cæsar, a subject of painting and tapestry, 150.
Julius, succeeded Silvester as pope, 353.
in his time Constantine was baptized, 353.

K.

Known men, a title given by the Lollards to each other, 53, 64.

L.

Laurence, St., his life a subject of Christian art, 213.
Leo the Isaurian, opposes images, 254.
Lollards, mentioned *by name*, 128; elsewhere vaguely called "some of the lay party," or "Bible-men."
various parties among them, 87.
fickle in their interpretations of Scripture texts, 93.

Lollards—*cont.*
include notorious evil-livers among their adherents, 103.
their opinion that all ordinances of divine law or service must be grounded in Scripture, 5.
that every humble-minded Christian shall discover the true sense of Scripture, 6, 54.
that arguments derived from reason against Scripture are to be discarded, 7.
they call each other known men, 53.
think that if a man keep God's law, he shall understand the true sense of Scripture without any human teacher; but if not, never, 102.
object to images on scriptural grounds, 136, *sqq.*
consider nearly all other Christians guilty of idolatry, 149.
object to pilgrimages, 175, *sqq.*
their other arguments against images and pilgrimages, 191–208.
they object on scriptural grounds to the landed possessions of the clergy, 275, *sqq.*
their other arguments against them stated, 321–325.
some Lollards think church endowments lawful, but that they may be taken away from the clergy, if they misuse them, 380, 381.
Wiclif's modification of this view, 413.
the Lollards object to the various ranks among the clergy, and would only have priests and deacons, 416, *sqq.*
they object to ecclesiastical laws made by papal and episcopal authority, 452, *sqq.*
their arguments against them, 463–468.
they object to the religious orders, 476, *sqq.*
their arguments from Scripture against them, 477–483.
Lollards—*cont.*
and from the prophecies of St. Hildegard, 483, 484.
and from reason, 502–505.
they object to the habits of the religious orders, 543.
and to the Franciscan friars' practice of counting money with a stick, while they do not handle it, 544.
they also object to invocation of Saints and priestly intercession, 561.
to the costly and superstitious decorations of churches, 562.
to the ceremonies used in the administration of the sacraments, 563.
to oaths, 564.
and to war and capital punishment, 565.
London, artisans of different trades wear different clothing, 545.
decorated with flowers and branches on Midsummer eve, 28.
cutlers and spurriers, 50.
lord mayor and aldermen, 157, 215, 216, 518, 519.
commemoration of Bishop Gravesend in St. Paul's cathedral, 215.
London buildings:—
London bridge, supported by rents, 338, 368.
St. Catherine's college, 215.
Paul's, St., Cross, sermons preached at, 30, 91, 112, 113.
Paul's, St., church, 32, 76, 215
the cross at the north door there, 194.
Whittington college, 112.
Louis le Débonnaire, largely endowed the church of Rome, 359, 363.
Lucius, king of the Britons, the church of England endowed in his time, 358.

M.

Macedonians, their tenets, 499.
Mahomet, the absurdity of his religion in prohibiting free discussion, 99.

Marcionites, their tenets, 498.
Martin, St., worked miracles, 156.
Martinus Polonus, mentions that the emperors confirmed the elections of the popes, 364.
Matilda of Tuscany, endowed the church of Rome with the marche of Ancona, 359.
Menandrians, their tenets, 497.
Michael, Mount, the archangel's bones fabled to be buried there, 155.
Midsummer eve, floral decoration in London on, 28.
Miracle plays, 221.
Montanists, their tenets, 498.

N.

Nero, St. Paul martyred in the last year of his reign, 56.
many other martyrs in his reign, 336.
Nestorians, their tenets, 500.
Neutrals, a party among the Lollards, 87.
New Testament, dates of various books of, 56, 57, 61.
Nice, first council of, allowed the marriage of the clergy, 376.
second council of, maintains and finally establishes images, 254.
Nicholas, St., worked miracles, 156.
his life a subject of Christian art, 212.
Nicolaitans, their tenets, 497.
Nicomedia, Constantine baptized there, 353.
Normandy, struggles of the king of England to conquer, 90.
Novatians, their tenets, 499.

O.

Opinion-holders, a party among the Lollards, 87.

P.

Pantheon, given by Phocas to Boniface IV., 362.
Paternians, their tenets, 500.
Paul, St., dates of various epistles of, 56, 57.
(*For St. Paul's Cathedral, see London.*)
Pauliani, their tenets, 498.
Pecock's life, his episcopal acts misconstrued by many, 106.
at Whittington college, London, 112.
he had not travelled out of England, 370.
Pecock's works :—Book of Logic (English), promised only, 9.
Book of Matrimony, 15.
Book of Christian religion in three parts (English), 15, 36, 38, 41, 42, 47, 58, 92, 99, 101, 515, 518, 562, 563.
Filling or spreading of the Four Tables (English), 16, 36, 47, 58, 392, 399, 562, 564, 565.
Just apprising of Holy Scripture, in three parts (English), 20, 26, 29, 31, 36, 40, 47, 52, 66, 69, 84, 127, 128, 130, 168, 231, 314, 379, 411, 451.
The Follower to the Donet (English), 36, 38, 42, 45, 47, 58, 80, 99, 101. 105, 133.
Book of Faith and Sacraments (Latin), promised only, 38, 42, 80, 92, 99, 101.
The Donet into Christian religion (English), 41, 47, 58, 143.
Book of Faith, 45 (English ?), 564 (Latin ?).
Book of Worshiping (English), 47, 119, 156, 166, 230, 253, 254, 255, 267, 273, 563.
Provoker of Christian people (English), 47, 48.
Book of Counsels (English), 47, 314.
Just apprising of Doctors (Latin, begun only), 71, 320, 411.
Proving of Christian faith, 99.
Book of Sacraments (perhaps the same as the Book of Faith and Sacraments), 163, 564.
Book of Baptism (Latin), 163, 427, 564.
Book of Eucharist, 163, 564.
The Before-crier, 218, 229.
Book of Legends (promised only), 354.
Book of Penance (Latin), 427.
Book of Priesthood, 427, 451.
Book of Lessons (Latin ?, promised only), 518.
Outdraught of the Donet (*i.e.* Poor Men's Mirror), 541.

Pecock's opinions. It is no part of the office of Scripture to found any law of God which man's reason may discover by the light of nature, 10.
various arguments in favour of this thesis, 10–51.
Scripture teaching concerning the moral virtues scanty, because it presupposes them to be known, 15–17, 23.
the first generations of men discovered moral truths by the light of nature only, 18.
subsequent generations, from the time of Abraham, Moses, and Christ, have been bound by the moral virtues discoverable by reason and by certain positive revealed laws, 18–20.
when Scripture seems to contradict reason in delivering a moral truth, it must be interpreted in accordance with reason, not *vice versâ*, 25, 26.
Scripture rehearses moral truths and grounds articles of faith, 35, 36.
Scripture may be read by the laity with ecclesiastical permission, 37, 119.
the greater part of God's law is contained in natural and not in revealed religion, 39.
the doctrine of the Sacraments is more grounded in reason than in Scripture, 45.
his own works highly to be apprised by the laity, 47, 128.
it is as easy to undervalue the inward Scripture of reason as the outward Scripture of the Bible, 51, 52.
his opinion on the fallibility of reason, 74–80.
revealed religion, being positive law to man, is not so worthy in itself as natural religion, or the moral law, 83, 84.
necessity of a learned clergy to interpret the Scripture, 85.
mere popular preachers to be avoided as expositors, 88.
Pecock's opinions—*cont.*
a morally bad man may be a correct expositor of Scripture, 94.
the truth of any opinion can only be established by free discussion, 98, 99, 100.
change of time necessitates changes of institutions in the church, 106, 107.
he considers that both he and other prelates have been hastily condemned by the common people, 106, 109.
but admits some abuses among the clergy, 4.
pictures, images, relics, and shrines are means to remind men of their duty, 114.
their use sanctioned by implication in Scripture, 117, 118.
the same arguments that prove sports, ale, and modern clothes to be lawful, prove pictures, &c. to be lawful, 118–127.
Susannah's history is an apocryphal addition to Daniel, 126.
theology and philosophy distinguished, 132.
science, opinion, and faith distinguished, 133.
images not forbidden by Scripture, 136–147.
images sanctioned by reason, 148–161.
may lawfully bear the names of those whom they represent, 150.
images not occasions of idolatry, so long as men take them not for their Gods, 153, 154.
superstitious and false opinions about images, not a sufficient reason for abolishing them, 156.
some images are endued with miraculous virtue, 186.
Scripture and reason approve of images, 162–166.
Scripture does not forbid pilgrimages, 176–178.
neither does reason, 179–186.

Pecock's opinions—*cont.*
his replies to the arguments of the Lollards against images and pilgrimage, 208–273.
his disquisition on the origin of idolatry, 242–251.
considers the book of Wisdom apocryphal, 250.
the landed endowments of the clergy are sanctioned by Scripture and reason, 374–378.
the passages of the Old and New Testament seeming to forbid them explained, 275–321.
reply to the arguments of the Lollards on this subject, 325–371.
these endowments not to be alienated, if the clergy misuse them, 394–405.
the various ranks of the clergy not forbidden, but sanctioned by Scripture and reason, 417–451.
his arguments for the papal supremacy, 434–444.
he defends ecclesiastical laws made by popes and bishops from Scripture and reason, 453–463.
his reply to the arguments of the Lollards on this subject, 468–475.
he defends the religious orders as not being against Scripture or reason, but sanctioned by both, 476–542.
his reply to the arguments of the Lollards on this subject, 484–502, 505–534.
he defends the habits of the religious orders, 544–548.
and their stately mansions and churches, 548–554.
also the Franciscans, in counting money with a stick, 554–561.
he defends priestly intercession and invocation of Saints, the costly decoration of churches, the ceremonies used in the sacraments, the lawfulness of oaths, and of war and capital punishment, by references to his other works, where they are vindicated at large, 561–565.
Pelagians, their tenets, 500.
Pepin, largely endowed the church of Rome, 359.
Peter, is the head of the Apostles and the rock of the church, 440.
certain expositions of Christ's promise to him reprehended, 441.
the popes, his successors, 443.
Petrus Comestor, quoted under the title of Master of the Stories, 529, 530.
Pharisees, erroneously conceived by some to be reproved by Christ as an order, 529.
their peculiarities, as described by Comestor, 529, 530.
Philaster, referred to, 501.
Philo, the author of the Book of Wisdom, 250, 251.
Phocas, gives Boniface IV. the Pantheon, 362.
Photinians, their tenets, 499.
Popes, their temporal dominions how, and when bestowed, 359.
Prague, disturbances there, in the time of Huss and his followers, 86, 87.
Proverb, English, quoted, 48.

R.

Religious orders. See *Pecock's opinions.*
Revenues, of the clergy, whence derived in ancient times, 406–408.
of religious houses, how spent, 370.
Rituals and rites used in the English church in the fifteenth century, referred to, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 261, 262, 266, 269, 270, 387.
of an earlier period, referred to, 203.
Rome, not the place where Constantine was baptized, though fabled so to be, 351–353.
ruled over by the Greek emperors till the time of Charlemagne, 363.

S.

Sabellians, their tenets, 499.
Samaritans, their religion in Christ's time, a mixture of heathenism and Judaism, 233, 234.
Gerizim the seat of their worship, 234.
Saracens, free discussion prohibited amongst, 99.
Severians, their tenets, 498.
Silvester, fabled to have baptized Constantine, 323.
did not really baptize him, 352, 353.
died before Constantine, 353.
his Acts quoted or referred to, 353.
Socrates, his ecclesiastical history referred to, 355.
Sozomen, referred to, 355.
Stephen II., maintains images, 254.
Superstitions:
the man in the moon, 155.
the three sister spirits, 155.
the bones of the archangel Michael, buried in Mount Michael, 155.
the horoscope, 450.
Susannah, an apocryphal book, 126.

T.

Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, upholds images, 254.
Tatianites, their tenets, 494, 498.
Theodoret, referred to, 355.
Theodosius, the Tripartite History composed in his reign, 361.
Timothy, Paul's advice to, applicable to the Lollards, 1.
bishop of Crete, 479.
Timothy and Titus, how far to be considered bishops, 444–447.
Titus, destroys Jerusalem, 234.
Trajan, many martyrs in his reign, 336.
Treves, the council of, approves the prophecies of St. Hildegard, 483.
Tritheitæ, their tenets, 501.

U.

Uncertain chronicler, quoted, 322.
Urban I., the church of Rome endowed in his time, 357.

V.

Valentinians, their tenets, 497.
Vespasian, destroys Jerusalem, 234.
Vitalianus, pope, his election confirmed by the emperor, 364.

W.

Waldenses, 501.
Walsingham, pilgrimage to our Lady of, 194.
Western church, from the Apostles' time till the days of Augustine, allowed the marriage of the clergy, 375.
Whittington college, London, 112, 113.
Wiclif, alluded to under the name of "one clerk, but verily to say, one heretic,' 413.
his book referred to, 501.
Wicliffites, their tenets, 501.
Wisdom, Book of, not canonical, 250.
written by Philo, 251.

INDEX TO THE APPENDICES.

Ambrose quoted or referred to, 590, 612.
Aristotle quoted or referred to, 583, 587 604, 606, 611.
Augustine quoted or referred to, 573, 583, 585, 590, 593, 596, 597, 605, 607, 612.

Boethius, 590.
Bourchier, Archbishop, Bury's dedication of his work to, 571–574.
his conduct relative to Pecock, 619, 620.
Bury, John, table of contents of his *Gladius Salomonis*, 567–570.
dedication of this work to Bourchier, 571–574.
assisted by Lowe in its composition, 572, 573.
his reason for styling his book *Solomon's Sword*, 573, 574.
plan of the work, 573, 574.
maintains Scripture and not reason to be the ground of all moral virtues, in a variety of conclusions against Pecock, 582–613.
maintains that Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, 612.
Booth (Bishop of Durham) present at Pecock's condemnation, 620.

Cato, his distichs quoted, 603.
Cerinthus, his company fled from by St. John at Ephesus, 603.
Chaundeler, Thomas, Chancellor of Oxford, burns Pecock's books at Carfax, 622.
Cicero, 590.

Dionysius the Areopagite quoted, 610.

Eboral, Thomas, his testimony against Pecock, 619.
England, disturbed state of, 573.

Glossa Ordinaria quoted, 603.
Gregory the Great, 590.

Hermes Trismegistus, 590.
Hippodamus, 611.
Horace quoted (tacitly), 572.
Hugo de S. Victore, 587, 590.

Isocrates, 604.

Jerome quoted or referred to, 590, 612.
John Damascene quoted, 599.

Kempe, Bishop, present at Pecock's condemnation, 619.

Lamhith (Lambeth), 620, 621.
Lombard, Peter, his book of Sentences quoted, 599.
Lowe, Bishop of Rochester, praise of, 572 573.
present at Pecock's condemnation, 619.

Orosius, the prologue of his history referred to, 571.

Pecock accused by Bury of heresy, rationalism, &c., 571–607.
worse than Wiclif or Mahomet, 602.
sarcasms on his vanity, 605.
titles of several of his works named, 594, 605.
his books burnt at London and Oxford, 622.
his *Repressor* corrected by himself, 573.
vindicates his sermon at Paul's Cross to Archbishop Stafford, 615–618.

Pecock a despiser of the Fathers, 619–622.
abjures his heresies, 619–622.
sent to Maidstone, 620.
and to Canterbury, 621.
Phaleas, 611.
Plato, 577, 590, 604, 611.
Porphyry quoted, 577.

Scylla and Charybdis (in allusion to the well-known line), 595.
Socrates, 611.
Solon, 611.
Stafford, Archbishop, Pecock's memorial to, 615–618.
disputations against Pecock held before him, 621.

Thomas Aquinas quoted, 610.

Uncertain (medieval?) poet quoted, 602.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Introduction, p. xi. Thinking it possible that the archives of Oriel College might mention the county of Pecock's birth, or some other particulars respecting him, unknown to me, I ventured to apply to the Rev. Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, for information, who politely replies:—

"I should be very glad if I could throw any light upon the subject of "your inquiries, but I find no register of ours going back quite far "enough. If I had the entry of his admission as Fellow, it would pro- "bably have mentioned the county, perhaps the very place of Bp. Pecock's "birth; but the regular entries do not appear to begin till a few years "afterwards. Lewis is certainly very particular in giving the day and "year of his admission (Oct. 30, 1417), after Bp. Kennet; but I do not "know whence Bp. K. obtained his information; and it is curious that "whereas he speaks of Pecock being chosen Fellow in the place of Rd. "Garsdale, S. T. P., elected Provost, I do not find the name of Garsdale "in the lists of our Provosts. (That he was Fellow and one of the College "Treasurers from 1409 to 1413 appears from some books of accounts older "than the College Register.)

"In A. Wood's MSS., in the Ashmolean Museum, c. 1. 53, p. 67, the "name of "Reynold Peacocke" appears in a list of the Fellows of Oriel, "1424, according to a memorandum which I find in the handwriting of "the late Bp. Copleston.

* * * * *

"I fear you will get no more exact account of the place of his birth.

* * * * *

"Thos. Gascoigne, from whom A. Wood takes his account of Pecock, "was of Oriel College, and resided in it for many years, although not a "Fellow. He was a contemporary of Pecock's, but certainly no friend of "his."

P. xxv. note, last line, *for* generation *read* separation.

P. 19, l. 1, place a comma after iudicialis; lines 16, 20, 23, and 33, place a comma after cerimonies and after iudicialis.

P. 20, l. 29, place a comma after God; also after England, p. 22, l. 11.

P. 25, l. 35, dele comma after resoun.

P. 28, note, *for* to *read* in.

P. 33, l. 2. The MS. of the *Repressor* used by Bury seems also to have been defective here. He quotes Pecock's text thus: "Yet the "bookis of gramare reherce withinne hem trouthis of divinite, as it "shewyd in *Catholicon* in diverse placis. Also though the faculte of Lawe "Canoun and the faculte of divinite." &c., *Glad. Sol.* MS. cap. xix.

P. 35, l. 34, insert comma after *is*; and similarly, p. 37, l. ult., and p. 38, l. 28.

P. 61, l. 16. The reference (written on an erasure) is false, *for* xiiij^{e}. *read* iij^{e}.

P. 61, l. 22. Stories maken mensioun] "Matthew wrote his Gospel "in the vij^{e}. ȝere after Cristis ascencioun, and Mark wrote in the x^{e}. ȝere "aftir Cristis ascensioun, *as may be had by croniclis of Martyn*," (*i.e.*

Martinus Polon. *Chron.* A.D. 40); Pecock's *Book of Faith*, p. 16. (Wharton's edn.)

P. 64, l. 10. The interrogation after *what thanne* should be cancelled, and the note thereon: there is none in Forshall and Madden's text of Wiclif's Bible, whence this is taken. *What=why* (*τί*;). See Glossary.

P. 66, l. 15, *for* vnsufficienti *read* vnsufficientli.

P. 73, l. 9, *for* bifittith *read* bisittith; and see Glossary.

P. 85. Marginal summary. *For* Scriptur *read* Scripture.

P. 86, l. 34, *for* you *read* ȝou. (*You* never occurs in this MS.)

P. 90, l. penult., *for* goon on *read* goon, which is probably intended by the scribe.

P. 98. Cancel the note: there is no reason to suspect ȝeuun.

P. 104, l. 19. Dele comma after chapiter, and insert comma after considerid.

Id. Marginal summary. *For* tests *read* texts.

P. 109, l. 16. The comma should probably be placed after *seie*, not after *ferthermore*. *Redili=evidently*. See Glossary.

P. 116, l. 9. Insert comma after *defende*.

P. 133, l. 31, *for* ithfe *read* feith.

P. 135, l. 23, *for* hise *read* his (*hise* is the plural form.)

P. 138, l. 26 and 33, dele hyphens both here and at p. 140, l. 6; p. 202, l. 28; p. 313, l. 24, and keep the words distinct as in the MS.

P. 139, l. 29, *for* a *read* al: (the letter has been accidentally broken in striking off the sheet: *a* is a northern form for *all*, such as never occurs in Pecock.)

P. 142, l. 8, *for* xvj^{e}. (sic MS.) *read* xxvj^{e}.

P. 146, l, ult., *for* xvij^{e}. *read* xviij^{e}.

P. 164, l. 15, wele (note): this orthography occurs again at p. 188, but similarly in a later hand.

P. 167, l. 10, *for* deuli *read* clenli, cancelling the note; and see Glossary.

P. 185, l. 22, *for* inlasse *read* in lasse, cancelling the note; and see Glossary.

P. 223, l. 20, *for* longer *read* lenger, which seems to be the only form used by Pecock.

P. 224, l. 3. The reference is false. Probably Levit. xx. 8 is the place intended.

P. 225, l. 7, *for* see *read* se.

P. 227, l. penult., *for* v. *read* iv^{e}.

P. 230, l. 17, *for* self *read* silf.

P. 242, l. 20. Both here and at p. 301, the first hand is perhaps right.

P. 246, l. 1, *for* thert *read* therto.

Id., l. 5, *for* ij^{e}. *read* ij.

P. 247. Marginal summary. *For* answered *read* further answered

P. 257. Ditto. *For* tranumption *read* transumption

P. 266, l. 1, *for* reherchid *read* rehercid.

P 272, l. 13 and l. 15, insert comma after *lasse*.

P. 276, note 1, *for* t *read* twice.

P. 279, l. 25, *for* tha *read* that.

P. 297. Marginal summary. *After* lawfulness *insert* of possessing riches.

P. 307, l. 14. It would have been better to have read *temporal* (there is a contraction in the MS.), here and below, p. 312, l. 68, p. 315 (*bis*), and elsewhere.

P. 314, l. 31, *for* all *read* alle. (*All* is a form unknown to this MS. See Glossary.)

P. 323. This silly story is again alluded to by Wiclif, and also by Johannes de Parisiis, circa 1290, who is rather an early authority for *angeli* in lieu of *diabolus*. "Quod vero Deo displicuerit (Constantini " donatio) ex hoc sumitur argumentum, quod legitur *in vita B. Sylvestri* " *Papæ*, quod in donatione illa audita est vox angelorum, dicentium in " aere, *Hodie in ecclesia venenum effusum est.*" *De pot. reg. et pap.* c. xxii. quoted by Dr. Todd in notes to *Wycliffe's three treatises*, p. 163. This looks very much as if Giraldus, who wrote about a century earlier, had got his account from some fabulous biography of Sylvester. Similarly Lord Cobham: "Then the archbishop asked him, What he meant by that " venom? The Lord Cobham said, Your possessions and lordships. For " then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, *Woe,* " *woe, woe! this day is venom shed into the church of God.*" Foxe's *Martyrs*, s.a. 1413 (vol. 3, p. 333, ed. 1844). It is mentioned in fine by Higden, *Polychron.*, lib. iv. c. 26. It thus appears how difficult it is to be sure to what works of the Lollard's Pecock alludes, seeing that they copy so often from each other, just as the chroniclers themselves do.

P. 331. Cancel note 1.

P. 333, l. antepen., *for* fitting *read* sitting, and cancel the note. See Glossary.

P. 351, l. 1, Girald.] Higden, referring to "*Giraldus ubi supra*" (he had quoted his *Topographia Hiberniæ* a little before, but he also refers to other of his books), lib. iv. c. 26, says, "From that tyme forwarde by cause " of the grete rychesse that the chirche of Rome hadde, it was made the " more seculer, and hadde more seculer besynes than spyrytuell deuocion, " and more pompe and boost outward than holynesse within forth, as it is " supposed. Therfore it is wryten that whan Constantyn hadde made " that yefte to the chirches, The olde enemy cryed openly in thayer (the " air), *This daye venym is heled and shedde in holy chirche.* Therefore " Jerome, *In Vitas Patrum*, sayth, *Syth that Holy Chirche encreased in* " *possessyons, it is decreaced in vertues.*" Trevisa's *Translation* (sig. y. iii., Caxton's edition). It deserves notice that a MS. in Archbishop Tenison's library has *the awngel of hevyn* written on an erasure in place of *the old enemy*. On Higden's authority we cannot well doubt that Pecock ascribed the legend to Giraldus; but what book of Giraldus is referred to by Higden must be left to others to discover. The passage does not, I believe, occur in the MS. of his *Descriptio Mundi* in the British Museum.

P. 355, l. 2, Ierom.] I had remarked that the Index to St. Jerome's works does not indicate the passage; and on looking to Vincentius Bellovacensis *Spec. Hist.* lib. xiii. c. 102 (the reference in the note, taken from Nicolaus Cusa is false), I am a little doubtful whether he meant the assertion to rest on Jerome's assertion or not. "Ego legi (says Cusa) in " Vincentio *Hist.* xxiv. libro in fine secundum S. Hieronymum Constan- " tinum uxorem Faustam et filium Crispum crudeliter occidisse, et in

" extremo vitæ ab Eusebio Nicomediæ episcopo baptizatum in Arianam " hæresim declinasse."—*Br. Fasc.* p. 158. The first part of the sentence is certainly intended by Vincentius to depend on Jerome's authority, and perhaps the latter also. But there is little doubt that Higden led Pecock into error. "Jerom in *Historia Tripartita* seith, that Constantyn in his laste dayes was ycristened of oon Eusebius, Bishop of Nichomedia."—*Polychron.* lib. iv. c. 26 (Trevisa's *Translation*, MS. in Tenison's library). Higden has here made two errors, first in ascribing the *Tripartite History* to Jerome, and next in making that work say what it does not say. See *Repressor*, p. 353, note. Pecock's reference to Jerome is therefore probably false.

P. 361, l. 4, *for* eudewing *read* endewing.

P. 363, l. ult., *for* s *read* so.

P. 383, l. 30, *for* nowen *read* mowen.

P. 389, l. 4, *for* ij^{e}. *read* ij.

P. 394, l. 18, *for* or *read* for, (letter broken off.)

P. 408, note, dele full stop after *pars*.

P. 413, Marginal summary. *For* misuse *read* habitually misuse. The correction is important.

P. 416. Marginal summary. *For* third *read* fourth.

P. 437, note 5, *for* quo aliud *read* quod aliud.

P. 469. Marginal summary, l. 3, *for* firs *read* first, (letter broken.)

P. 479, l. 18, dele stop after *liknes*.

P. 496, l. 7, insert comma after *accordingli*.

P. 497, l. penult, *for* her *read* hir.

P. 540. Marginal summary. *For* premises *read* premiss.

P. 572. The Rev. T. Chevallier has been good enough to collate for me the preface and first chapter of Bury with the Durham MS., for which see Raine's Appendix to Rud's *Catalogue of MSS. in the Chapter Library at Durham*, p. 388. The first leaf is wanting, and the first words of the preface are *animalis homo*, p. 572, l. 14.

P. 572, l. 29, vir geminus.] The Durham MS. fortunately confirms my correction. Mr. Chevallier compares Athenæus, *Deipn.* lib. 1, c. 4 (vol. 1, p. 9, Schw.).

P. 573, l. 7, corrigat] me corrigat, Durham MS., the *me* being interlineated, but in the same hand.

P. 573, l. 24, literarum]. The Durham MS. here and at p. 574, l. penult., agrees with the Oxford MS. against my corrections, the former of which, however, is tolerably certain. Perhaps the last sentence had best be left as it stands in the MSS.

Pp. 575, 576, c. I. The Durham MS. begins by l. 21, and scarcely differs at all from the orthography of the Oxford MS.: *in* for *yn*, *wich* for *wyche*, *wyche* for *wiche*, *conclusyon* for *conclusyoun*, *ought* for *oughte*, *dooth* for *doothe*, *parfithly* for *parfithely*, and *Goddis* for *Goddys*, are the only deviations noticed by Mr. Chevallier.

P. 576, c. II. l. 5. The Durham MS. also reads *autem*.

LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

LIST OF WORKS

PUBLISHED

By the late Record and State Paper Commissioners, or under the Direction of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls, which may be had of Messrs. Longman and Co.

PUBLIC RECORDS AND STATE PAPERS.

ROTULORUM ORIGINALIUM IN CURIA SCACCARII ABBREVIATIO. Henry III.—Edward III. *Edited by* HENRY PLAYFORD, Esq. 2 vols. folio (1805—1810). *Price*, boards, 12*s.* 6*d.* each, or 25*s.*

CALENDARIUM INQUISITIONUM POST MORTEM SIVE ESCAETARUM. Henry III.—Richard III. *Edited by* JOHN CALEY AND J. BAYLEY, Esqrs. 4 vols. folio (1806—1808 ; 1821—1828), boards: vols. 2 and 3, separately, *price*, boards, each 21*s.*; vol. 4, boards, 24*s.*

LIBRORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM BIBLIOTHECÆ HARLEIANÆ CATALOGUS. Vol. 4. *Edited by* The Rev. T. H. HORNE, (1812) folio, boards. *Price* 18*s.*

ABBREVIATIO PLACITORUM, Richard I.—Edward II. *Edited by* The Right Hon. GEORGE ROSE, AND W. ILLINGWORTH, Esq. 1 vol. folio (1811), boards. *Price* 18*s.*

LIBRI CENSUALIS vocati DOMESDAY-BOOK, INDICES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS. Small folio (1816), boards (Domesday-Book, vol. 3). *Price* 21*s.*

LIBRI CENSUALIS vocati DOMESDAY, ADDITAMENTA EX CODIC. ANTIQUISS. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS. Small folio (1816), boards (Domesday-Book, vol. 4). *Price* 21*s.*

STATUTES OF THE REALM, in very large folio. Vols. 1 to 11 (except vols. 5 and 6.) including 2 vols. of Indices (1810—1828). *Edited by* Sir T. E. TOMLINS, JOHN RAITHBY, JOHN CALEY, and WM. ELLIOTT, Esqrs. *Price* 31*s.* 6*d.* each.

*** The Alphabetical and Chronological Indices may be had separately, *price* 30*s.* each.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, temp. Henry VIII., Auctoritate Regia institutus. *Edited by* JOHN CALEY, Esq., and the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. Vols. 4 to 6, folio (1810, &c.), boards. *Price* 25*s.* each.

*** The Introduction is also published in 8vo. cloth. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

ROTULI SCOTIÆ IN TURRI LONDINENSI ET IN DOMO CAPITULARI WESTMONASTERIENSI ASSERVATI. 19 Edward I.—Henry VIII. *Edited by* DAVID MACPHERSON, JOHN CALEY, AND W. ILLINGWORTH, Esqrs., and the Rev. T. H. HORNE. 2 vols. folio (1814—1819), boards. *Price* 42*s.*

"FŒDERA, CONVENTIONES, LITTERÆ," &c.; or, Rymer's Fœdera, A.D. 1066—1391. New Edition, Vol. 2, Part 2, and Vol. 3, Parts 1 and 2, folio (1821—1830). *Edited by* JOHN CALEY and FRED. HOLBROOKE, Esqrs. *Price* 21*s.* each Part.

DUCATUS LANCASTRIÆ CALENDARIUM INQUISITIONUM POST MORTEM, &c. Part 3, Ducatus Lancastriæ. Calendar to the Pleadings, &c. Henry VII.—Ph. and M.; and Calendar to Pleadings, 1—13 Elizabeth. Part 4, Calendar to Pleadings to end of Elizabeth. *Edited by* R. J. HARPER, JOHN CALEY, and WM. MINCHIN, Esqrs. Part 3 (or Vol. 2) (1827—1834), *price* 31*s.* 6*d.*; and Part 4 (or Vol. 3), boards, folio, *price* 21*s.*

CALENDARS OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN CHANCERY IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, to which are prefixed examples of earlier proceedings in that Court from Richard II. to Elizabeth, from the originals in the Tower. *Edited by* JOHN BAYLEY, Esq. Vols. 2 and 3 (1830—1832), boards, each, folio, *price* 21*s.*

PARLIAMENTARY WRITS AND WRITS OF MILITARY SUMMONS, together with the Records and Muniments relating to the Suit and Service due and performed to the King's High Court of Parliament and the Councils of the Realm. Edward I., II. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. (1830—1834). Vol. 2, Division 1, Edward II., 21*s.*; Vol. 2, Division 2, 21*s.*; Vol. 2, Division 3, folio, boards, *price* 42*s.*

ROTULI LITTERARUM CLAUSARUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATI. 2 vols. folio (1833—1844). The first volume commences A.D. 1204 to 1224. The second volume 1224—1227. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq. Together, *price* 81*s.* cloth; or the volumes may be had separately. Vol. 1, *price* 63*s.* cloth; Vol. 2, cloth, *price* 18*s.*

THE GREAT ROLLS OF THE PIPE FOR THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH YEARS OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SECOND, 1155—1158. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. 1 vol. royal 8vo. (1844), cloth. *Price* 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE GREAT ROLL OF THE PIPE FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST, 1189—1190. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. 1 vol. royal 8vo. (1844), cloth. *Price* 6*s.*

PROCEEDINGS AND ORDINANCES OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, commencing 10 Richard II.—33 Henry VIII. *Edited by* Sir N. HARRIS NICOLAS. 7 vols. royal 8vo. (1834—1837), cloth 98*s.*; or any of the volumes may be had separately, cloth. *Price* 14*s.* each.

ROTULI LITTERARUM PATENTIUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATI, A.D. 1201 to 1216. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq. 1 vol. folio (1835), cloth. *Price* 31*s.* 6*d.*

*** The Introduction is also published in 8vo., cloth. *Price* 9*s.*

ROTULI CURIÆ REGIS. Rolls and Records of the Court held before the King's Justiciars or Justices. 6 Richard I.—1 John. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. 2 vols. royal 8vo. (1835), cloth. *Price* 28*s.*

ROTULI NORMANNIÆ IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATI, A.D. 1200—1205. Also from 1417 to 1418. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq. 1 vol. royal 8vo. (1835), cloth. *Price* 12*s.* 6*d.*

ROTULI DE OBLATIS ET FINIBUS IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATI, tempore Regis Johannis. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq. 1 vol. royal 8vo. (1835), cloth. *Price* 18*s.*

EXCERPTA E ROTULIS FINIUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATIS. Henry III., 1216—1272. *Edited by* CHARLES ROBERTS, Esq. 2 vols. royal 8vo. (1835, 1836), cloth, *price* 32*s.*; or the volumes may be had separately, Vol. 1, *price* 14*s.*; Vol. 2, cloth, *price* 18*s.*

FINES SIVE PEDES FINIUM SIVE FINALES CONCORDIÆ IN CURIA DOMINI REGIS. 7 Richard I.—16 John (1195—1214). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. In Counties. 2 vols. royal 8vo. (1835—1844), together, cloth, *price* 11*s.*; or the volumes may be had separately, Vol. 1, *price* 8*s.* 6*d.*; Vol. 2, cloth, *price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

ANCIENT KALENDARS AND INVENTORIES (THE) OF THE TREASURY OF HIS MAJESTY'S EXCHEQUER; together with Documents illustrating the History of that Repository. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. 3 vols. royal 8vo. (1836), cloth. *Price* 42*s.*

DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS illustrating the History of Scotland, and the Transactions between the Crowns of Scotland and England; preserved in the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. 1 vol. royal 8vo. (1837), cloth. *Price* 18*s.*

Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, a.d. 1199—1216. *Edited by* Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq. 1 vol. folio (1837), cloth. *Price* 30*s.*

Registrum vulgariter nuncupatum "The Record of Caernarvon," e codice MS. Harleiano, 696, descriptum. *Edited by* Sir Henry Ellis. 1 vol. folio (1838), cloth. *Price* 31*s.* 6*d.*

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England; comprising Laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, from Æthelbirht to Cnut, with an English Translation of the Saxon; the Laws called Edward the Confessor's; the Laws of William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry the First; also, Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana, from the 7th to the 10th century; and the Ancient Latin Version of the Anglo-Saxon Laws; with a compendious Glossary, &c. *Edited by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq. 1 vol. folio (1840), cloth. *Price* 40*s.*

—— 2 vols. royal 8vo. cloth. *Price* 30*s.*

Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; comprising Laws supposed to be enacted by Howel the Good; modified by subsequent Regulations under the Native Princes, prior to the Conquest by Edward the First; and anomalous Laws, consisting principally of Institutions which, by the Statute of Ruddlan, were admitted to continue in force. With an English Translation of the Welsh Text. To which are added a few Latin Transcripts, containing Digests of the Welsh Laws, principally of the Dimetian Code. With Indices and Glossary. *Edited by* Aneurin Owen, Esq. 1 vol. folio (1841), cloth. *Price* 44*s.*

—— 2 vols. royal 8vo. cloth. *Price* 36*s.*

Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Præstitis, Regnante Johanne. *Edited by* Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq. 1 vol. royal 8vo. (1844), cloth. *Price* 6*s.*

Documents Illustrative of English History in the 13th and 14th centuries, selected from the Records in the Exchequer. *Edited by* Henry Cole, Esq. 1 vol. fcp. folio (1844), cloth. *Price* 45*s.* 6*d.*

Modus Tenendi Parliamentum. An Ancient Treatise on the Mode of holding the Parliament in England. *Edited by* Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq. 1 vol. 8vo. (1846), cloth. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Reports of the Proceedings of the Record Commissioners, 1800 to 1819, 2 vols., folio, boards. *Price* 5*l.* 5*s.* From 1819 to 1831 their proceedings have not been printed. A third volume of Reports of their Proceedings, 1831 to 1837, folio, boards, 8*s.* 3 vols. together, boards. *Price* 5*l.* 13*s.*

THE ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENTS OF SCOTLAND. 11 vols. folio (1814–1844). Vol. I. *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON and COSMO INNES, Esqrs. *Price* 42*s*.

*** Also, Vols. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 10*s*. 6*d*. each Vol.

THE ACTS OF THE LORDS OF COUNCIL IN CIVIL CAUSES. A.D. 1478—1495. *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON, Esq. Folio (1839). *Price* 10*s*. 6*d*.

THE ACTS OF THE LORDS AUDITORS OF CAUSES AND COMPLAINTS. A.D. 1466—1494. *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON, Esq. Folio (1839). *Price* 10*s*. 6*d*.

REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI REGUM SCOTORUM in Archivis Publicis asservatum. A.D. 1306—1424. *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON, Esq. Folio (1814). *Price* 15*s*.

ISSUE ROLL OF THOMAS DE BRANTINGHAM, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer of England, containing Payments out of His Majesty's Revenue, 44 Edward III., 1370. *Edited by* FREDERICK DEVON, Esq. 1 vol. 4to. (1835), cloth. *Price* 35*s*.

—— Royal 8vo. cloth. *Price* 25*s*.

ISSUES OF THE EXCHEQUER, containing similar matter to the above, temp. Jac. I., extracted from the Pell Records. *Edited by* FREDERICK DEVON, Esq. 1 vol. 4to. (1836), cloth. *Price* 30*s*.

—— Royal 8vo. cloth. *Price* 21*s*.

ISSUES OF THE EXCHEQUER, containing like matter to the above, extracted from the Pell Records; Henry III. to Henry VI. inclusive. *Edited by* FREDERICK DEVON, Esq. 1 vol. 4to. (1837), cloth. *Price* 40*s*.

—— Royal 8vo. cloth. *Price* 30*s*.

LIBER MUNERUM PUBLICORUM HIBERNIÆ, ab an. 1152 usque ad 1827; or, The Establishments of Ireland from the 19th of King Stephen to the 7th of George IV., during a period of 675 years; being the Report of Rowley Lascelles, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Extracted from the Records and other authorities, by Special Command, pursuant to an Address, an. 1810, of the Commons of the United Kingdom. With Introductory Observations by F. S. THOMAS, Esq. (1852.) 2 vols. folio. *Price* 42*s*.

NOTES OF MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS. By F. S. THOMAS, Esq. Demy folio (1846). *Price* 10*s*.

HANDBOOK TO THE PUBLIC RECORDS. By F. S. THOMAS, Esq. Royal 8vo. (1853.) *Price* 12*s*.

State Papers during the Reign of Henry the Eighth. 11 vols. 4to. (1830—1852) completing the work in its present form, with Indices of Persons and Places to the whole. *Price* 5*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. I. contains Domestic Correspondence.
Vols. II. & III.—Correspondence relating to Ireland.
Vols. IV. & V.—Correspondence relating to Scotland.
Vols. VI. to XI.—Correspondence between England and Foreign Courts.

*** Any Volume may be purchased separately, *price* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Monumenta Historica Britannica, or, Materials for the History of Britain from the earliest period. Vol. 1, extending to the Norman Conquest. Prepared, and illustrated with Notes, by the late Henry Petrie, Esq., F.S.A., Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, assisted by the Rev. John Sharpe, Rector of Castle Eaton, Wilts. Finally completed for publication, and with an Introduction, by Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Records. (Printed by command of Her Majesty.) Folio (1848). *Price* 42*s.*

Historical Notes relative to the History of England; embracing the Period from the Accession of King Henry VIII. to the Death of Queen Anne inclusive (1509 to 1714). Designed as a Book of instant Reference for the purpose of ascertaining the Dates of Events mentioned in History and in Manuscripts. The Name of every Person and Event mentioned in History within the above period is placed in Alphabetical and Chronological Order, and the Authority from whence taken is given in each case, whether from Printed History or from Manuscripts. By F. S. Thomas, Esq., Secretary of the Public Record Office. 3 vols. 8vo. (1856.) *Price* 40*s.*

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS.

[Imperial 8vo. *Price* 15*s.* each Volume.]

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547—1580, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A. 1856.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I., preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Mary Anne Everett Green. 1857–1859.

Vol. I.—1603—1610.
Vol. II.—1611—1618.
Vol. III.—1619—1623.
Vol. IV.—1623—1625, with Addenda.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I., preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* John Bruce, Esq. V.P.S.A. 1858–1859.

Vol. I.—1625–1626.
Vol. II.—1627–1628.
Vol. III.—1628–1629.

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Markham John Thorpe, Esq., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 1858.

Vol. I., the Scottish Series, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1509—1589.
Vol. II., the Scottish Series, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1589—1603; an Appendix to the Scottish Series, 1543—1592; and the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots during her Detention in England, 1568—1587.

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, 1509–1573, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office *Edited by* H. C. Hamilton, Esq. 1860.

Vol. I.

In the Press.

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* H. C. Hamilton, Esq.

Vol. II.

Calendar of the State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II., preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Mary Anne Everett Green.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I., preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* John Bruce, Esq., V.P.S.A.

Vol. IV.

Calendar of the State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, and Reader at the Rolls.

Calendar of the State Papers, Colonial Series, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq.

Vol. I.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[Royal 8vo. *Price* 8*s.* 6*d.* each Volume.]

1. The Chronicle of England, by John Capgrave. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford.
2. Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. J. Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard.
3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* H. R. Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.
4. Monumenta Franciscana; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. III.—Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, and Reader at the Rolls.
5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.
6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.
7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford.
8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* C. Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge.
9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis), Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vol. I. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A.

10. Memorials of King Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis de Vita Regis Henrici Septimi Historia; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* J. Gairdner, Esq.
11. Memorials of Henry the Fifth. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* C. A. Cole, Esq.
12. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. *Edited by* H. T. Riley, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.
13. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes. *Edited by* Sir H. Ellis, K.H.
14. A Collection of Political Poems from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. I. *Edited by* T. Wright, Esq., M.A.
15. The "Opus Tertium" and "Opus Minus" of Roger Bacon. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, and Reader at the Rolls.
16. Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana (A.D. 449—1298). *Edited by* H. R. Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.
17. The Brut y Tywysogion, or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel.
18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. Vol. I. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford.
19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* C. Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

In the Press.

Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. (A.D. 447—1066.) *Edited by* J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. *Edited by* B. Thorpe, Esq.

Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie. *Edited by* J. Glover, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. *Edited by* W. Hardy, Esq.

The Wars of the Danes in Ireland: written in the Irish language. *Edited by* the Rev. Dr. Todd, Librarian of the University of Dublin.

Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis ; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. II., Liber Custumarum. *Edited by* H. T. Riley, Esq.. M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis), Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. II. and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A.

A Collection of Political Poems from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. II. *Edited by* T. Wright, Esq., M.A.

Original Letters and Papers illustrative of the History of England during the Fifteenth Century. *Edited by* the Rev. J. Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard.

A Collection of Sagas and other Historical Documents relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. *Edited by* George W. Dasent, Esq., D.C.L. Oxon.

The Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel.

A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. Vol. II. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford.

The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London, and Reader at the Rolls.

Letters and Papers of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq.

Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the Early History of Great Britain. *Edited by* T. Duffus Hardy, Esq.

In Progress.

Historia Minor Matthæi Paris. *Edited by* Sir F. Madden, K.H., Chief of the MS. Department of the British Museum.

Letters and Treatises of Bishop Grossetete, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* the Rev. H. R. Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.

A Chronicle of the Abbey of Evesham, from its Foundation to the Year 1214, with a Continuation to 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. William D. Macray.

A Roll of the Irish Privy Council of the 16th Year of the Reign of Richard II. *Edited by* the Rev. James Graves.

Polychronicon Ranulphi Higdeni, with Trevisa's Translation.

May 1860.